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CONTENTS

PAGES.

Cultural Significance of Full-Moon and New-Moon Names in Karnataka
By DR. G. S. GAI ... 95—98

Songs in Oraon Culture
B. ASUTOSH BHATTACHARYYA ... 99—107

Æsthetic Categories
By DR. P. S. SASTRI, M.A., M.Litt., Ph.D. ... 108—118

A Bibliography of the Published Material on the People of the North-Eastern Frontier of India
By SIBADAS CHAUDHURI ... 119—126

Yearly Records of the Mission of Caruar
Written by FATHER P. F. FRANCIS XAVIER OF ST. ANNE
Translated by S. SILVA ... 127—133

S'rī S'aṁkarācārya and His Mission
By S. SRIKANTAYA ... 134—155

Malik Ambar's Financial Administration
By B. G. TAMASKAR ... 156—163

Vratá in the Ṛgveda
By Dr. V. M. APTE, M.A., Ph.D. (Cantab.) ... 164—172

Nyāya Bhāskara of Anantārya
Translated by M. B. NARASIMHA IYENGAR, M.Sc. 173—177

Proceedings of the Forty-fifth Annual Meeting of the Mythic Society, Bangalore. ... 178—184

Reviews: ... 185—195
Der Rig-Veda—Dr. V. M. Apte (185-190); Kelavu Nenapugalu—S. Srikantaya (191-195).

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CULTURAL SIGNIFICANCE OF FULL-MOON AND NEW-MOON NAMES IN KARNATAKA *

By Dr. G. S. Gai

THE divine powers of nature were considered by man as of great importance to his welfare and destiny. He believed that they could be influenced by periodical rites and ceremonies. Festivals, therefore, originated in man's belief in stimulating and propitiating these divine powers and were essentially religious or magical in character. As observed by Prof. J. Gonda, the festivals were primarily events of the cyclical life of nature, of the growth of crops, etc. and later on came to be regarded as occasions to commemorate and to give expressions to joy. Dancing and singing, which formed an important part of these festivals, helped to further man's consciousness of his power and to refresh his mood. We find the festivals not only as means of recreation exerting an invigorating influence upon man, but also as part of duty as in *dēva-kārya* and *pitṛ-kārya*. According to the *Viṣṇudharmōttara-Purāṇa*, there will be famine if people are not merry.

As in many other parts of India, feasts and festivities abound in Karnāṭaka also. A detailed and scientific study of them will

* Broadcast from the Gauhati Station of the All-India Radio. By courtesy of the authorities.

throw greater light on the popular culture of this region. As it is not possible to give a comprehensive account of them in a short compass it is proposed to discuss here in brief only the cultural traditions associated with the names of the full-moons and new-moons which are current in this region. It is well-known that there are twelve full-moons and twelve new-moons in a year of the Hindu calendar, which in many parts of India commences from the first day of the bright half of the month *Caitra* according to lunar reckoning or the *Cāndramāna* year. These are seasonal or periodical festivals known throughout India but the names given to them in Karnāṭaka and the significance attached to these names are interesting to a student of Indian culture. References to some of these names are found in epigraphic records dating back to about a thousand years or more. Kannaḍa is the language spoken in this region and is of great antiquity, stone records of about the fifth century A.D. being found written in this language. *Habba* is the word used in Kannaḍa for 'festival' and is derived from Sanskrit *parvan* which means 'a periodic change of the moon, a festival.' The full-moon is called *huṇṇive* (*puṇṇime* in old Kannaḍa) which is from Sanskrit *pūrṇimā*. The word *amāsi* or *amāvāse* stands for Sanskrit *amāvāsya* 'new-moon' (literally 'the night of the new-moon when the sun and moon dwell together').

Now let us come to the actual names of these full-moons and new-moons, starting from the month of *Caitra* (March-April) and ending with that of *Phālguṇa* (February-March). The first is called *Davanada-huṇṇive* because on this day the gods (specially God *Mallikārjuna* of S'rīs'aila in the Kurnool District) are worshipped with the leaves of the *davana*-plant (*Artemisia indica*). The new-moon of this month is *Akṣatadige-amāvāse* so called on account of the festival *Akṣaya-tritīyā* which falls on *Vais'ākha s'ukla*, 3, (the third day of the bright half of *Vais'ākha*) when married women bathe and present to each other betel-nuts and fruits. The full-moon of the month of *Vais'ākha* is *Agi-huṇṇive*. *Agi* means 'a seedling.' This period is ripe for transplanting seedlings of rice, pepper, etc. The new-moon is

known as *Bādāmi-amāvāse* on account of the worship offered to the goddess called *Bādumbe* from which the name *Bādāmi* has to be derived. The full-moon of the third month (*Jyēṣṭha*) is called *Kāra-huṇṇive* which means the full-moon of the rainy season, for the rains commence then. The corresponding new-moon is *Maṇṇettina-amāvāse*, the name signifying that the people then make clay images of bullocks (*ettu*) and worship them. The next full-moon of the month of *Āṣāḍha* is called *Kaḍalegaḍabina-huṇṇive* which means the full-moon of the cakes of gram because such cakes are offered to gods and goddesses on this day. The new-moon is *Nāgara-amāvāse* which derives its name from the festival of *Nāga-pañcami* which follows on *S'rāvaṇa s'ukla*, 5, (the fifth day of the bright half of *S'rāvaṇa*). The fifth full-moon of the month of *S'rāvaṇa* is designated as *Nūla-huṇṇive*. *Nūlu* means 'a thread' and on this day, the ceremony of wearing the sacred thread, *i.e. yajñōpavīta* is performed. The new-moon is called *Cauti* or *Benakana-amāvāse* because it is followed only four days later, by the very popular festival of *Gaṇēs'a* or *Vināyaka-Caturthi*. The next full-moon is *Anantana-huṇṇive* in the *Bhādrapada* month which derives its name on account of the festival of Ananta Padmanābha which falls on the previous day, of worshipping god *Viṣṇu* in the form of *Ananta*. The corresponding new-moon is called *Navarātri* or *Mahānavami-amāvāse*, for it is followed by the important festival of the nine days (*navarātra* in honour of the goddess *Durgā*) while the tenth day is the famous *Dasarā*. *Ās'vina-paurṇima* is known as *S'īgi* or *Herjuggiya-huṇṇive* which means the full-moon of the principal harvest and the *kharif* of the early crops are gathered at this time of the year. The new-moon of this month is named *Dīpāvaḷi-amāvāse* because of the well-known *Divāḷi* festival which occurs during the following fortnight. The full-moon of the month of *Kārtika* is known as *Gaurī-huṇṇive* for the women worship goddess *Gaurī* on this day. The new-moon of this month is *Caṭṭi-amāvāse* which name is derived from the festival of *Campā-s'aṣṭhi* which occurs only six days after and on which day god *S'iva* in the form of *Khaṇḍōbā* is worshipped. The next full-moon of the month of *Mārgas'īrṣa*

is called *Hostala-huṇṇive* and the word *hostala* means 'a threshold.' The thresholds are decorated and worshipped on this day, possibly to welcome the gods into the houses. The new-moon is known as *Eḷḷu-amavāse* and *eḷḷu* means 'sesamum seed.' This name is due to the succeeding festival of *Makara-saṅkrānti* (Winter solstice) when sesamum seeds are exchanged between friends and relatives as a mark of respect and endearment. The full-moon of the next month, *Pauṣa*, is called *Banada-huṇṇive* when the goddess *Banas'aṁkarī* of the well-known temple in this region is worshipped. The new-moon is known as *Avarātra-amāvāse* and no satisfactory explanation of this name can be obtained. In the next month of *Māgha*, the full-moon is designated as *Bhārata-huṇṇive* in accordance with the tradition that the great epic *Mahābhārata* is recited in the temples on this day. It is also known as *Bhāratī-huṇṇive* because of the worship done to goddess *Bhāratī, i.e. Sarasvatī* on this day. The new-moon of the month is *S'ivarātri-amāvāse,* named after the well-known festival in honour of God *S'iva.* Another name of this new-moon is *Kāmana-amāvāse* which is in commemoration of the burning of the god of Love—Cupid (*Kāma*) by *S'iva* from his third eye. For the same reason, the next full-moon of the last month, *Phālguṇa*, is called *Hōḷi* or *Kāmana-huṇṇive* while the new-moon is termed as *Yugādi-amāvāse* on account of the commencement of the new year, according to the Hindu calendar, on the following first day of *Caitra.*

Thus the names of these full-moons and new-moons as known in this part of India can be explained as for as possible. It is quite possible that in some parts of this region they are called by some other names and also different traditions may have been associated with them. But as stated before, the underlying idea in performing these feasts and festivals is that man believed that by invoking and propitiating the divine powers, he strengthened himself. This idea is reflected in that immortal work *Bhagavad-Gīta* in the verse

Dēvān bhāvayatānēna tē dēvā bhāvayantu vaḥ |
Parasparaṁ bhāvayantaḥ s'rēyaḥ paramavāpsyatha ||

(III—11)

SONGS IN ORAON CULTURE

BY ASUTOSH BHATTACHARYYA

Introduction

THE Oraons, a Dravidian-speaking people, have concentrated their settlement in the southern part of the Palamau District, western part of the Ranchi District and eastern parts of Jashpur and Sargooja States now merged in Madhya Pradesh. This is a contiguous area and though bisected by rivers and intercepted by forests and hills has more or less an integrated population of the Oraon. It is also a fact that the Oraon are distributed throughout the southern part of the District of Palamau and the entire District of Ranchi, but nowhere beside the area outlined above have they been able to develop a homogeneity of their culture and integrity of their population.

This paper is concerned with Oraon songs only. Songs which reflect tribal life in its reality seldom flourish except beyond its own environments. 'To the Gond' says Verrier Elwin, 'music and the dance is the beginning and end of culture.'[1] The same statement is applicable to the Oraon also. Linguistically the Oraon and the Gond hold the same position—both are Dravidian-speaking and, in addition to their own Dravidian mother-tongues, both have adopted a local form of Indo-Āryan language. The Gonds live contiguous west of the area inhabited by the Oraon. Both are popularly known as the Nagpuriyas, though the area inhabited by the Oraon is known as Chota (or little) Nagpur and the area inhabited by the Gonds is known as Nagpur or Nagdēs'a proper. There is little or no fundamental difference between the culture of the two save and except some local factors. Therefore, song and dance are also the beginning and end of Oraon culture like the Gond.

Songs are sung by the Oraon not only on ceremonial and religious occasions, but practically speaking at every step of life·

1. *Leaves from the Jungles* : (London, 1936). p. 34.

Beginning with the cleaning of the cow-shed in the morning until they retire to bed during late hours of night, they specially the women folk, never go without songs. Therefore the idea that every aboriginal song has its own occasion for singing is utterly wrong. It is the dance which has its own ceremonial or festive occasion, but songs have none. One day as I was returning to my camp through an Oraon village during a summer mid-day my attention was drawn to a very musical song. It came from the lips of an elderly woman engaged in collecting dry leaves. It was a wonderful solo performance which unfortunately came to a sudden end at my undesirable intrusion. The song I listened to cannot be classified under any head and this is the character of almost every Oraon song. Though the seasonal songs including the *Karam* are seldom sung beyond their own seasons, yet the other songs do not strictly adhere to any particular occasion. Even marriage songs can be heard from their lips when there is little or no prospect of an immediate celebration. Therefore, it is wrong to classify the Oraon songs according to their practical application. For academic reasons they may however be broadly classified according to their subject-matter. But this classification also cannot be perfectly air-tight—subjects of one class may overlap the other. I attempt below a classification in this line of the Oraon songs I collected at the Gumla sub-division of the Ranchi District in the course of my tour during January-March, 1954.

If folk-songs are divided according to the subject-matter, difficulty is felt as to from which subject to start with. The general practice adopted by foreign scholars is to start with the pregnancy song and end with the funeral song. This, I think, is the most convenient method for discussion of Indian folk-songs notwithstanding the fact that it betrays the most realistic outlook on human life. For convenience's sake I shall follow the same method.

Pregnancy Songs

Pregnancy songs are sung by the Oraon of the Gumla sub-division of the Ranchi District on the occasion of a ritual bath which is given to the pregnant woman in the ninth month of her

pregnancy. The pregnant woman accompanies a group of her friends and neighbours—all women—to a streamlet, embankment or river as the case may be. The accompanying women sing as they proceed along the way to the bathing place. The following songs sung in Sadri dialect, a corrupt form of Bhojpurīya, were collected by me at the village Asni, four miles east of Gumla.

The river swells
The peacock dances
The rain pours
The desire of Mother Earth [2] fulfills.

Who knows when does the *Sal* (flower) blossom?
Who knows when does the Koel [3] flood?
Who knows when does the paddy ripen?
Mother Earth alone knows them all.

Both the songs are symbolic in character. The swelling of of the river, dancing of the peacock, pouring of rain, blossoming of *Sal* flowers, flooding of the river and ripening of the paddy all signify sexual act and the resultant conception. It is a peculiar characteristic of the Indian tribal songs that their most gross and realistic parts are always expressed through symbols only. This practice gives a literary appeal to an otherwise akward subject.

O, the mango tree on the road-side!
For whom have you been waiting,
With vermilion (red) leaves on your forehead,
And a garland of creeper around the shoulder?

O, the mango tree of the road-side!
In vain you have been waiting?
Your vermilion (red) leaves will drop dry
And the garland of creeper will fade away.

---

2. The origin is *Dharti Mata* probably *Dharitri Mata* meaning the Mother Earth.

3. A river which rises in the Gumla sub-division of the Ranchi District.

O, the mango tree of the road-side!
Why do not bear fruit even at this age?
Blossom the flowers so that the bees may come,
Spread thy leaves so that the fruits may grow.

O, the mango tree of the road-side!
An ant-hill has grown below thy feet?
Serpents live in peace in the ant-hill,[4]
Crush it not with thy branches.

Ant, Ant, where are thy eyes,
By which thy searchest for food?
Ant, Ant, where are thy eyes,
By which thy enterest the hole?

The ant, according to Oraon tradition, is believed not to have eyes. Therefore, it is a mystery to the Oraon mind how it searches for food and finds out the shelter. The eyeless ant searching for food and entering the shelter probably signifies sexual symbols though my Oraon interpreter vehemently denied the idea.

Moon appears in the nocturnal sky,
It is not seen through the clouds,
The clouds will soon disappear
And the moon will be visible to all.

Moon appears in the nocturnal sky,
It has been devoured by Rau;[5]
Rau will soon release the Moon
And she will be visible to all.

Appearance of the moon in the nocturnal sky seems to symbolize conception or pregnancy of woman which is the subject-matter of the songs under discussion. Release of the moon by the Rau or Rahu seems to mean giving birth to child by the pregnant woman.

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4. The ant-hill and serpent are both used as sexual symbols in Indian tribal song.

5. Rahu, the demon according to Hindu Mythology. It is believed by the Hindus that Rahu devours the moon during eclipse. This idea seems to have been borrowed here by the Oraon from the Hindus.

Red ant, red ant,
Bite me not so hard ;
I shall give you *handia* to drink
And jasmine-white rice to eat.

All the above songs are sung during the ceremonial bath of the pregnant woman as well as during the ceremonial feast which is given to her following the bath on the same day.

Songs of Child Birth

On the ninth day of the birth of a child, male or female, the mother takes the purificatory bath. Her nails are pared by the village barber and she being spiritually 'escorted' by the other women of the family goes to a river or an embankment to take the purificatory dip. The child is left behind at home. The associates of the mother in the course of their journey towards her bathing place sing the following songs of child-birth. I was informed that no song is sung on the day of the actual birth of the child. The reasons are too obvious to discuss here in detail.

Gunja flower is red,
Red is the skirt of thy cloth,
O mother, whose baby is crying,
Crying alone on the river bank ?
Take it, take in your arms.

On the first month she did not know—
She did not know what had happened to her ;
On the second month she thought she was ill—
For the moon did not appear in the cloudy sky !
On the third month everybody knew the secret,
She could no more conceal herself with her skirt.
On the fourth month she became indifferent—
Indifferent to her dress and to herself.
On the fifth month she said to her husband,
'I cann't take food without tamarind and chillies,
Bring me a lot of them from Thursday's market :
Otherwise I die, I die of hunger sure'.

On the sixth month she could no more go to the field
To assist her husband in his daily work.

On the seventh month she failed to go out to fetch water
For the *dari* was far away from her house.

On the eighth month she cooked with difficulty
The humble meal for her husband and children.

On the ninth month she laid herself down on the floor,

On the tenth month the full-moon dropped on the earth.

The father was glad, the grand-mother took it into
her arms.

The neighbours rejoiced ; the friends delighted in songs
and dance.

Strictly speaking, it should have been a pregnancy song instead of being a song of child-birth, inasmuch as the description covers the entire period of the pregnancy of a woman. But as the description leads to the last couplet which definitely describes the joy of child-birth, I consider it a song of child-birth instead of a pregnancy song.

Marriage Song

Oraon marriage rituals are as complicated as they are numerous. Each ritual is generally associated with a specific group of songs, but it is also a fact that one group overlaps the other on many occasions. Therefore, I consider it needless to classify the songs according to the rituals. I have already stated that some marriage songs are also sung when there is not even any remote chance of a marriage in the village. Idea of marriage is associated with pleasure and happiness and whenever the mind betrays such a feeling, it gives expression to it by the usual marriage songs. Therefore, the marriage songs are also non-ritualistic and secular in character.

I have caught a parrot—
A parrot of golden colour,
It speaks in human voice,
It is tied by an iron chain.

I have seen a parrot—
It is not a parrot as they say ;
Its voice is human ;
It lives in a house.

On the way to *dari*,
The *Chaila* caught a parrot ;
The parrot used to fly at will
The *Chaila* has put it in chain.

From the above songs it is apparent that like most of the aboriginal songs of India, Oraon songs are also symbolic. Here the parrot stands for the symbol of the bride. Catching of a parrot by the *Chaila* or the boy means marrying the girl by him. To put a parrot under chain also means depriving the married girl of her freedom of movement and to confine her to household life. This indeed is the most important event in the life of a young Oraon woman. With her marriage her life of liberty takes leave of her, she can no more meet her old friends in the usual way, she cannot visit the *Yatras* or other dancing grounds at her sweet will. In every case she is accompanied by her husband. For like every aboriginal society the Oraon tolerates pre-marital freedom of its girls, but as soon as a young woman enters into matrimonial life, the most stringent conjugal fidelity is demanded of her. Therefore, this sacrifice of freedom is bitterly lamented in Oraon marriage poems, and it is generally compared with the state of being under iron fetters.

The parrot sings, it dances,
But from the cage it cannot be free ;
It sings from within the cage
It dances, alas, within it.

Whose daughter goes to the *dari*
In the twilight of the evening sky ?
She is nobody's daughter, *Chaila*,
It is the dark cow of the village *pahan*.

The dark cow of the village *pahan*,
Has grown fat and is difficult to tether :
Nobody can drive it home in the evening,
The hills and jungles she makes her home.

A shepherd has come from distant land,
The land is on the other side of the *Koel*.
He will tether the cow of the *pahan*.
He will drive it to his own cowshed.

The symbols used in the above songs are too obvious to explain here. It is the position of the married woman which strikes one in the above lines. It has been repeatedly described that the married life is without the joy of freedom for the women and it is a matter of very great pain and not pleasure that a young woman should sacrifice her freedom and enter into a life of bondage. The beneficial aspects of the conjugal life are never glorified in Oraon marriage songs.

But on the bride-groom's side the picture is just the opposite. It is the joy of welcoming a new member in the family which is expressed in the songs sung by the members of the bride-groom's party. This difference of attitude towards marriage ceremonies is but natural between the two parties. One party is losing whereas the other is gaining one youthful member in its family. Therefore, their approach to this question must also be different. The following songs sung by the female members of the bride-groom's party are different in spirit from the song already quoted.

Where does the water of the *Koel* come from ?
Where does the sun send its rays from ?
From the other side of the hill flows the *Koel*,
From heaven come the rays of the sun.

Let us reach the other end of the *Koel*,
Let us see from what hill it flows,
Let us snatch away the cows that graze
On the bank of the *Koel* behind the hills.

The cow is big, the cow is healthy,
It grazes alone in the lonely forest,
Let us drive it towards our home,
Let us make it enter our cowshed.

FUNERAL SONG

The Oraon attitude towards death is very simple and it is not complicated by rituals nor obscured by philosophic speculations. It is more or less like the *Sahajiyas* of Bengal who believe that death is the natural outcome of birth and as simple as birth itself. No thought of atter life nor any thought of the heaven and hell haunt their mind. As one has entered the world he must also retire one day. These are the ideas which have been expressed through their funeral songs.

The King dies leaving his palace behind,
The queens lament in the empty chambers,
The king had queens countless in number—
All lament the death of their husband.

The King has left; his palace is dark—
When he was alive he was so full of joy;
He knew not that the joys would vanish,
He knew not that the life would end.

The water of the *Koel* passes into the Son
Flowing by the side of Garu and Kechki;[6]
Life of men passes into the world unknown—
Nobody can tell by which places it passes.

Riches are in vain, the cattle have no value,
When one is dead he is thrown off the house—
The riches come to no use, the cattles can do no good—
His hard-earned properties are left uncared for.

The old people die, the new babies are born—
The house is never left vacant any time,
The dry leaves fly and new ones are born—
The forest never goes without its leaves any time.

From the few songs quoted above it will be apparent that instead of the realistic aspect of death, a dignified view of it has found expression in Oraon songs. Horror of death has dissolved here in a sublime attitude. This may be due to some alien contact.

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6. Garu and Kechki are two places of some importance in the District of Palamau.

ÆSTHETIC CATEGORIES *

By Dr. P. S. Sastri, M.A., M.Litt. Ph.D.

'Karuna' is another important æsthetic category. It can be spoken of as the tragic. The experience of the tragic is the true spring of all creative art, since the creative process is the travail of the soul; and we are told that Vālmīki's first poetic utterrance was an intense experience of pathos:

> "*Kāvyasyātmā sa ēvārthas tathā cādikaveḥ purā*
> *krauñca dvandva viyogotthaḥ s'okaḥ s'lokatvam*
> *āgataḥ.*" [81]

Vālmīki apprehended the sorrow of the bird when it was permanently separated from its mate. The truly tragic situation is that in which there is a keen and intense awareness of the loss of some dear and near object; for, this situation mutilates the harmony and unity of the self. That aspect of the self which embodies a significant value gets broken up as its objective reference is removed from factual existence. And the individual attempts to resurrect imaginatively that which is no more. But the imaginative revival has a tendency to fade away, to obviate which the individual endeavours to embody it in a relatively permanent form. This form is the work of art. Hence the origin of poetry is sought in the tragic.

The tragic is an important feature of æsthetic experience. An anonymous saying tells us that the tragic (*karuṇa*) is the only æsthetic value.[82] Here the transmutation of the heart and mind (*citta druti*) is at its best and highest; and this is taken to be one

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* Continued from Vol. XLV. Page 126.

81. *Dhvanyāloka*; I. 5.

82. "*Rasēṣu karuṇṇo rasaḥ*".

of *mādhurya* by Ānandavardhana.[83] This might appear to be paradoxical; but we have only to remember that our interest in tragedy is directed by the innate conviction that some good is bound to arise from the very evil that is presented. We attend to the beings and their responses to the evil in the environment; and we find therein some mysterious power at work, a power that fascinates us and yet attempts to drive us into a frenzy. The essence of tragedy does not lie in the emotional intensity, for, in the tragic we attach great significance to "the vivid sense of the inevitability of their (events) unfolding, the significance of the curve of crescendo and diminuendo which their sequence describes, together with all the myriad subsidiary evocations which, at each point, poetic language can bring in to give fullness and density to the whole organic unity."[84] Good and evil enter into the world of tragedy not as two mutually exclusive principles, but as the ministers of universal law. The good that emerges out of the tragic conflict is precisely that good which nothing but evil could evoke.

Tragedy has its roots in the conflict and disagreements between man and his world, a conflict which emphasizes the fact that the human values have in them the seeds of dissolution.[85] The innate goodness comes to light in suffering and enters into conflict with the forces of evil.[86] In this conflict it so happens that the good may seem to be lost. But in tragedy "some sense of the whole possibility of life—its good and its evil, its joys and its misfortunes—is presented under the condition of poetry," and "it becomes thereby an interpretation of life."[87] As an interpretation the tragic becomes co-extensive with life. All the varied richness of content that life can offer enters into the tragic freely

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83. *Dhvanyāloka*; p. 207:

"*Mādhuryam ārdratām yāti yatas tatrādhikam manaḥ*".

84. Roger Fry: *Transformations*. p. 10.

85. *Cf*. Dessoir: *Aesthetik Und allgemeine Kunst-Wissenschaft*, pp. 207-213.

86. See; Lipps: *Der Streit über die Trago"die.*

87. L. Abercrombie; *Idea of Great Poetry*, p. 96.

and necessarily. At the very core of this life is the tragic spirit which in the language of logic is called contradiction. As such this tragic spirit appears to be sublime. Bhavabhūti therefore speaks of (*karuṇa*) and sublime (*adbhuta*) not as two categories but as one.[88] He even goes to the extent of stating that this tragic is the only æsthetic state:

> "*Eko rasaḥ karuṇa ēva nimitta bhēdād*
> *bhinnaḥ pṛthak pṛthak ivā s'rayatē vivartān*
> *āvarta budbuda tarangamayān vikārān*
> *ambho yathā salilam ēva hi tat samastam.*"[89]

Rasa is one and it is of the nature of universal consciousness which is apprehended imaginatively and intellectually as well. Due to the varying conditions in which this one *rasa* called *karuṇa* is experienced, it is seen to appear in many forms at various times. These forms which are its appearances *(vivartāḥ)* are the various *rasas*. This one *rasa* is like the sea whose various waves are the different *rasas*. This one æsthetic state is manifested in many ways through the different characters that constitute its media.[90] As such the tragic cannot be said to be merely of the form of love. It can and does appear in any way—as love or anger or fear and the like.[91]

In all the æsthetic states the vital core is always felt to be the tragic which is the pulse of life. The essential features of Reality, as we apprehend, are finiteness, pain and evil. These do not and

88. Uttararāmacaritam, p. 163:
"*Pāvanam vacanāmṛtam Karuṇādbhuta rasam ca kincid upanibaddham.*"

89. *Ibid*, III. 47.

90. Virarāghava's Commentary on the above:
"*Eka ēva sann api nimitta bhēdāt sakhitva patitva patnītvādy upādhi bhēdād bhinnaḥ vilaksaṇa iva pṛthak pṛthak vivartān srayate*".

91. *Ibid.*:
"*Eka eva sann api nimitta bhēdāt vyanjaka vibhāvādi vicchitti viṣēṣād bhinnaḥ vilakṣaṇaḥ pṛthak pṛthag vivartan paraspara vilakṣaṇa sṛngārādy ātmanā pariṇāmān. 'Vyasta pariṇāmaḥ syād vivartaḥ, iti kapilaḥ. S'rayate bhajate*"

cannot disappear in any form of existence, since the tendency of the human soul is always towards more severe forms of self-expression. Hence it is that "the completest of all the creations in which as yet man has freely and spontaneously sought what he most enjoys is...that of poetical tragedy." [92] And even though there are theories that make love the supreme æsthetic category, we have to recognise the tragic as equally supreme, if not more valuable than the rest. We are therefore told:

> " *Yady api śṛngāra ēka ēva rasa iti śṛngāra prakās'a kārādi matam, tathāpi prācuryād, rāgi virāgi sādhāraṇyāt, karuṇa ēka ēva rasaḥ. Anye tu tad vikṛtayaḥ.*" [93]

The tragic is a universal feature of all experience, since it is at the very heart of existence and since it is an experience which brings both the lover and philosopher together.

The depth and profundity of the soul is always known by the intensity of pain that is experienced, for human tragedy is a microcosmic representation of the cosmic situation. As Bradley puts it, "we seem to have before us a type of the mystery of the whole world, the tragic fact which extends far beyond the limits of tragedy." [94] The affliction that is presented gives us a conviction that this agony is nothing when compared with the heroism and love revealed from the writhing souls of the tragic characters. 'Sometimes we are driven to cry out that these mighty or heavenly spirits who perish are too great for the little space in which they move and that they vanish not into nothingness but into freedom. Sometimes from these sources and from others comes a presentiment, formless but haunting and even profound, that all the fury and conflict, with its waste and woe, is less than half the truth, even an illusion

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92. Bosanquet :
Science and Philosophy. p. 88.

93. Vīrarāghava on *Uttara Rāma Caritam*,3.47.

94. *Shakespearean Tragedy*, p.23.

'such stuff as dreams are made of.' "[95] Out of the tragic awareness there comes the conviction that the tragic suffering is no suffering at all from a higher stand-point.

There is an intense and at times abnormal suffering in the tragic situation. If the tragic character has no sufficient power and support, he faces a complete physical breakdown or collapse of the mind, or both together.[96] With so much suffering, he reveals his superiority and greatness in his power of will, in his strength of feeling, or in the depth of his imagination and thought. It is thus that he becomes symbolic of human suffering itself.[97] And we feel that the highest existence is that in which the greatness of the soul is crushed and torn away in such a way that the unnatural division or disharmony of the soul can be put an end to. Consequently the experience of the tragic is not at all a painful or tortuous one. No one would willingly court pain if the tragic is merely painful.[98] We feel something valuable and significant at the core of pain itself.

The tragic fact, then, is not an alien feature of existence. It does not come from outside into life. In pain or suffering what we feel is actually a real existence.[99] This suffering brings intimations of a deeper and more profound principle wherein the distinctions of subject and object cease to exist. We become aware of the self in the objects. While the tragic apparently presents

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95. *Ibid.* pp.38-39.

96. *Cf. Nāṭya S'āstra*, p.99.

"*Tasyās'rupāta, paridevana, mukhas'oṣaṇa, vaivarṇya, srastagātratā nihs'vāsa, smṛti lopādibhir anubhāvaik prayoktavyaḥ.*" The emotions experienced are "*nirvēda, glāni, cintā, autsukya, āvēga, bhrama, mōha, s'rama, bhaya, viṣāda, dainya* ...."

97. See Volkelt : *Æsthetik*,II.304ff.

98. Vîrarāghava on *Uttara Rāma Caritam*,3,47.

"*Yady asya sahaja duḥkhātmakatvam syāt, na ko 'pi sāmājikas tatra pravartēta.*"

See also *Sāhitya Darpaṇa*, p. 78.

99. *Cf.* Hegel's *Science of Logic* : Sec, 249.

the cleavage of the self and the objects, it implicitly suggests the self in the objects. This suggestion is so significant and necessary in all higher experiences that we are fascinated immensely by the tragic. "These faint and scattered intimations that the tragic world, being but a fragment of a whole beyond our vision, must needs be a contradiction and no ultimate truth, avail nothing to interpret the mystery. We remain confronted with the inexplicable fact, or the no less inexplicable appearance, of a world travailing for perfection, but bringing to birth, together with glorious good, an evil which it is able to overcome only by self-torture and self-waste. And this fact or appearance is tragedy."[100] This is the spiritual waste or the waste of goodness that gives the experience a tragic colour. Out of this waste the individual endeavours to build here or in the beyond a life of repose and harmony. But such a life is impossible as long as the spiritual waste dominates life and its values. Such a state of existence is presented in the Indian drama during the first three parts (*sandhis*) of the play.

Before we enquire into the need for the spiritual reorientation after this waste of good, we should examine the tragic conflict closely. The experience of tragedy is specific in that it seeks no illusions to ignore the facts presented. The facts are given as facts, not as fictions; and therefore they remain here uncomforted and alone. We overcome all suppression and pretentions and as such we are able to have an extraordinarily stable experience. It is an experience which accepts everything and rejects nothing. It is a systematically organised and all inclusive one. The emotions are universalised and the "intrusive element that belongs to the sphere of the accidental and individual"[101] is eschewed. With all this harmony, the tragic fact appears to bring about some sort of restlessness. This is due to the interplay of action and character. The tragic events result from the actions of human beings and these events in their turn give rise to fresh actions. As a result the events do not appear to be

100. A. C. Bradley: *Shakespearean Tragedy*, p. 39.
101. Butcher: *Aristotle's Theory of Poetry and Fine Art*, pp. 268-269.

imposed on the individuals from outside. They seem to be caused by the individuals themselves. The actions therefore are characteristic of them. They issue from their character. This action can be interpreted only in terms of conflict. Such a conflict is an indispensable element in all human life, and it is technically known as '*garbha sandhi*' which is characterised by the ceaseless search for that which satisfies the yearnings of the soul.[102] The conflict becomes significant when it is more inward or spiritual than external. The tragic hero thus is one who is a divided soul:[103] he is distracted by an inward struggle. This struggle involves certain forces which may be broadly spoken of as those of good and evil. In this conflict the tragic hero acquires or develops a specific predisposition or prejudice in some one definite way. He seems to be carried away by something which he can resist only impotently. He takes up an ideal deliberately or otherwise and feels that he alone is in the right. He refuses to recognise the claims of other ideals and of other individuals. He believes that whoever is not with him is against him. This is a fatal one-sidedness which needs be overcome, but which generally overcomes him. This is a fatal tendency and makes him identify his being with one aspect of the whole to the negation of the rest. "It is a fatal gift, but it carries with it a touch of greatness and when there is joined to it nobility of mind, or genius, or immense force, we realise the full power and reach of the soul and the conflict in which it engages acquires that magnitude which stirs not only sympathy and pity, but admiration, terror and awe."[104] This intimate union of the tragic and the sublime is so deep and itense that we take the two as the two facets of the same experience. As such sympathy and fear enter into this experience and instead of merely sympathising with the tragic character we admire him and revere him. In his fall the tragic hero reveals such greatness that we become "vividly

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102. *Pratāparudrīyam*: p. 79.

"*Garbhas tu dṛṣṭa naṣṭasya bījasyānveṣaṇam muhuḥ.*"

103. *Cf. Rasagangādhara*: p. 39.

"*Vaiklavyā khyas' citta vṛtti viśeṣaḥ śokaḥ.*"

104. A. C. Bradley: *Shakespearean Tragedy*, p.20.

conscious of the possibilities of human nature."[105] Man is not small and his life is beyond contempt. We are pained at his suffering because we see a great life wasted and lost. This awareness of waste gives rise to a feeling of deep mystery and profound sadness. It is a sadness that is expressive of a sense of world-weariness. It is not a sentimental '*Welt-schmerz*' but the expression of an intense emotional and intellectual awareness of truth as the ultimate fact or power in the universe.

The ultimate power in the world of tragedy is no moral power since the tragic fact is mysterious and fearful. It has an uncanny air, while a moral order or law is presumed to be just and helpful to humanity. The tragic fact baffles our rationality. Yet we do not rebel against this power, nor do we groan under its heels. However when we witness a tragedy we do feel that the hero is a doomed individual, that there is a destiny which takes him away in an irresistible manner. We recognise that the hero himself is responsible for his suffering; but we are compelled to note that his suffering is out of proportion to his actions. The power that seems to hover round him remains unmoved and stony. Yet we admire it and love it because it is the very being of our own existence. The tragedy lies in the rebellion against this power.

The world of tragedy, like our work-a-day world, presents the inter-connection of character and action. Every action is directed towards an end, but as often as not the end turns out to be that which one does not expect; for, "our thoughts are ours, their ends none of our own." When the ends are totally unexpected, the individuals seem to move in a dark and unfathomable world. Their actions proceed freely, but the consequences of the actions react on them profoundly. Whatever may be their intentions, it is only the ends achieved not the ends contemplated or meant, that count. The tragedy lies in the translation of an idea or thought into its opposite.[106] Sītā in *Uttara Rāma Caritam* intended to visit the

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105. A. C. Bradley: *Shakespearean Tragedy.*

106. *Cf.* Abh. Bh.I.44:
"*Svābhīṣṭa viṣaya nās'ajaḥ prāktana sukha smaraṇ-ānu viddhaḥ sarvathaiva duḥkha rūpaḥ s'okaḥ.*"

hermitages and she was urged to it by her feeling of respect and devotion to the great wise men there. But this very idea was instrumental to her exile. It is not an exile that she pined for and the way in which her idea was realised is the real tragic fact. Instances like this can be multiplied easily from life and literature and they point to one conclusion, *viz.* the helplessness of the human beings.

Why is man so helpless and so unlucky ? The individual is faced with that problem which alone he could not solve, which no one could solve in those circumstances. All his virtues seem to direct him towards his ruin. The spiritual convlusion that overtakes him arises precisely from the implications of the good that is in him and in the universe. These implications refer to evil which is predominantly a moral evil. Such a moral evil lies in the irresolution, pride, simplicity, credulousness and other similar features. It is a conflict between moral good and moral evil that convulses the tragic hero.[107] The hero succeeds in an empirical sense as long as the good in him is not exhausted completely. Slowly and surely the evil attempts to dominate the good and in destroying others it destroys the individual himself. Thus instead of resuscitating the good, the tragic hero himself becomes responsible for the destruction of that good which he champions. This is the real tragic situation which involves a great spiritual conflict. The tragic suffering accordingly is the result of a collision with the moral power which is spiritual and universal and which evokes our admiration and love. But this moral power is not something that falls outside of, and is alien to, the evil that is at work. The evil is a part of the moral order : it is that part which asserts its independence and freedom from the rest. All conflict thus takes place within that ultimate power which is rent asunder by the contending individuals. The tragic

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107. *Cf. Ibid.* I 283 :

" *Avis'rānti rūpataiva ca duḥkanām. Tata ēva kāpilair dukhahasya cāncalyam ēva prāṇatvēnoktam tasya rajovṛttim vadadbhiḥ......*"

characters "are in the power of that against which they do battle and injure that which by the law of their own existence they ought to honour.[108]

Indian drama does not stop with the development of the tragic potentialities of existence. It recognises tragedy and embodies it in the first three parts of the play called '*mukha*', '*pratimukha*' and '*garbha*.' Thereafter, it seems to turn its eyes away from the tragic fact. What is the rationale here?

We have seen that the tragic in the æsthetic sphere is similar to logical contradiction. This contradiction cannot be final.[109] That it is resolved in the higher experiences we can gather from the intimations of the tragic, for it is the tendency of all finite categories to realise their full meaning in something else. The tragic is an element of Reality which can be completed only through what is not itself. From this it follows that "the ultimate logical structure of suffering and evil is the same as that of satisfaction and of good." [110] The tragic is self-contradictory. It receives its distinctive nature only when it is an element in the whole. The whole is Reality and the elements thereof breathe its spirit. The tragic, therefore, is permeated by the spirit of that which cannot be said to be tragic. Reality is the tragic and the non-tragic as well, and yet it remains distinct from both. The tragic accordingly finds its consummation and fulfilment in that Reality or whole which is, and is not, tragic and non-tragic. Mackail thus observes: "in the evolution of poetry, comedy tends to displace tragedy, or tragedy to merge in a higher and wider tragi-comedy. Only in that larger and wider scope can the expression of life be given, the pattern and interpretation of life be found. All the more tense and exclusive forms of poetry gradually translate themselves into a larger pattern and looser texture."[111] It is an organic law of development that tragedy should pass into tragi-comedy whence we have the continuation of the Indian drama even after the tragic conflict has come to its full.

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108. Hegel: *Æsthetik*. 3.556.

109. *Cf*. Hegel's: *Science of Logic*. p. 249.

110. Bosanquet: *Science and Philosophy*, p. 86.

111. *Lectures on poetry*, pp. 176 ff.

The function of art is to create a state of harmony and perfection which is embodied in the work of art. The realization of this perfection is an ideal possibility for all æsthetic categories. Hence in all great art there is something which transcends art, which attempts to go beyond art, to complete itself and to find its true nature. The work of art only presents a picture of imperfection, which suggests perfections and which takes us away to the beyond. "That transcendence, that continued search further and further after what cannot be found, that stretching out of the hands in love of a further shore, is not consistent with the requirements of a complete and finished work of art."[112] Yet since it is the nature of all experience to be self-transcending, the creative artist cannot ignore it. The work of art fulfils this function by virtue of the atmosphere of infinite suggestion that hovers round it. The tragic is no exception to this principle; and it becomes an important æsthetic value only in so far as it can offer the intimations of that Reality which comprehends and contains it. Hence *karuṇa* is called *samvid rūpa*,[113] the form or medium adopted by consciousness for revealing itself.

(*To be concluded*)

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112. *Lectures on Poetry*: p. 90.
113. *Abh. Bh.* I.

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(*To be concluded*)

YEARLY RECORDS OF THE MISSION OF CARUAR *

(*Fathers of the Discalced Carmelites*)

WRITTEN BY FATHER P. F. FRANCIS XAVIER OF ST. ANNE

TRANSLATED BY S. SILVA

CHAPTER VIII

1738—1740

AFTER the departure of P. F. Innocentius of the Presentation to Malabar, this, our Caruar Mission was entrusted through D. Peter of Alcantara of the Most Holy Trinity, the Vicar Apostolic to a certain secular priest Salvator D'Sa, since there was no one of our Religious staying here, the same priest was residing in our House in order that he might take care both of the residence and of the Church. He was the very first, though not an Apostolic Missionary or a Carmelite who was put in charge of the Carmelite Mission. This example which was not a great honour to us was afterwards repeated by others, as we shall see in its own place. Why this was done I do not know unless it be, as I conjecture, that there was no Carmelite Missionary at hand who could or would like to remain here; for although there were not a few in Bombay, nevertheless it was most difficult to take away any of them from Bombay, where they were abounding in conveniences and to send them to this place where nothing but hardships, poverty and loneliness awaited them. Besides at that time at Bombay the fights were most flourishing about the superiorship of which we treated in the preceding chapter. These alienated greatly in every way the minds of the Missionaries from the Vicar Apostolic. This estrangement of minds might have been the cause that either the Vicar Apostolic did not like to order even those things which were in his power, or those Missionaries showed openly their resistance to orders of any kind.

Who exactly was this Father Salvator de Sa, where he was born, by whom he was ordained, I am completely ignorant. This only I know, that he and some other secular priests who had been

* Continued from Vol XLVI. page 55.

either students of the Roman College of the Propaganda Fide or who had been ordained by the Vicars Apostolic with the title of the Mission, remained here in the service of the Mission for many years even from the very beginning of the foundation of the Mission. This is evident from the books of this Church in which are found not a few baptisms and marriages officiated by these priests and this not only in this Church but in many villages far separated, when on account of scarcity of men they were sent sometimes from this place by the ruler of the Mission.

Shortly after P. F. Innocentius of the Presentation, the founder and legislator of the Confraternity erected in this Mission, left this place, strifes and dissensions arose among the Confraternity members themselves with scandal both of the Christians and idolaters and Muhammadans. It was therefore necessary to reform both the Confraternity and its laws. This was done in 1739.

The names of this priest Salvator de Sa is found in the documents of this Church from the first of June 1720 always together with the assumed name of Missionary; from 1738 onwards he assumed the name of Vicar and Parish Priest. His entries as Parish Priest begin from the 24th of February 1738 upto the 6th of January 1740. About his death, however, no mention is made in the necrology of this Church: nay his name is not found any more anywhere after the above-mentioned date. During the time he was in charge of the Mission there were 17 baptisms, 10 marriages and 12 deaths; when, how, and where this priest died. I have no knowledge at all.

CHAPTER IX

1740—1758

Towards the end of 1739 a new Missionary P. F. John Dominic of S. Clara [12] came to Malabar appointed to the Mughal

12. John Dominic of S. Clara (Michael Antony Chiavassa) C. D, of Piedmont Province. Born first of March 1710 in Racconigi (Diocese of Turin). Professed 6th of April 1728. Sent to the Mnghal Mission 1738. Elected Vicar Apostolic of the Mughal Mission 1738. Elected Vicar Apostolic of the Mughal and Bishop of Assury in Partibus 15th of June 1756. Died in Sirvao (Canara) 25th of January 1772. (*Cf. Hierach, Carm. Fasc. III.* p. 125—136; *Vel. annual.* C. D. *a*, IX, 1934 pp. 281-288).

Vicariate Apostolic. He stayed a short while in Verapoly to rest after the long journey. Then he received the letters of the Vicar Apostolic of Mughal, by which he was being sent to Caruar. In the beginning of the year 1740, after seeing Bombay and being complicated in the Bombay controversies, reached here and immediately he took up the Government of this our Mission. He was born in Turin (or better in the village of Racconigi) of the noble family of Chiavassa. He was a member of the Piedmont Province. He was of quick intelligence, loveable, simple, straigtforward, doing good with all energy, desirous to please all, active in labours, patient and fearless in adversity, joyful in poverty, moderate in abundance, sober in food, religious in everything, pious and devout. Because of all these, he was loved by all, Christians, idolaters and Muhammadans, among whom his memorary is held in honour even to this day, and praised very much, although now he has been dead far so many years.

Neither before nor after him none till now so long governed this Mission as he did. Above all his predecessors he learnt the language of the natives, which he was speaking so freely and so quickly that he could appear as a native unless the most difficult pronunciation of some consonants, in which pronunciation showed him a European, all who are not Indians, however, without exception. He used in the study of this language as a teacher a certain Goan priest.

In the year 1752, the Portuguese waged war against the king of Sunda, that caused troubles to our residents here; for since we and the Portuguese were of the same religion, whence the pagans as being very ignorant do not sufficiently distinguish one from another European nation, were concluding a unity too of heart, intention and operation at least secret. This suspicion of the pagans affected at least an accidental cause, that our missionary P. F. Dominic was exhausted by a long vexation as we shall see a little below. In this war which lasted for some years, in the same year 1752 in November the Portuguese by arms against the king of Sunda occupied the Provinces of Canacona and Siumsar and

also the fortress Sada-sce-gadd, and there too, peace being made they remained for the next ten years.

In the same year 1752 on March 23, the most illustrious and revered D. Innocentius of the Presentation, Vicar Apostolic (of whom we treated in Chapter VII), again came here after an absence of fifteen years. He after more than three years residing in his exile in Bandra and having tried all the ways to enter Bombay, at last all his hopes being frustrated he set out towards Goa where he reached on January 20 of this year and remained until the 10th of March. Finally following the land route came to Sunkery where he was received by our Missionary P. F. John Dominic with the greatest joy, kindness, charity and reverence. All the same this happiness did not last long; for the following year turned that joy into sorrow and grief.

On June 6, 1753 the aforesaid D. Innocentius being exhausted by labours, calamities, bitterness and distresses, expired more than sixty years old in this our house at Sunkery after having been fortified with all the church's sacraments. His body placed in a wooden coffin was burried near the main altar in our church. Our Missionary F. John Dominic, who assisted the dying, in the necrology written by him, among other things, speaks of him thus: "One hour before he gave up his soul to God, I saw him with my very eyes so cheerful and calm that he consoled me greatly and those standing around and I judged not without reason that he was enjoying the special assistance of the saints and of the angels. At the same time I asked him how he was and what he wanted; he replied to me that he was overjoyed and he was enjoying a great peace and he was needing nothing of bodily comforts. With the same serenity he expired pronouncing three times clearly and distinctly the most Holy Name of Jesus."

He had such and so great a fame of sanctity not only among the Christians but also among the pagans that he was called generally "a holy man" and in the same year 1777, namely after twenty-four years from his death when his sepulchre was opened again, as we shall see at its own place, the pagans themselves

carried away earth from the sepulchre out of devotion, and it is said that several sick people were restored to health with this earth.

During his last infirmity since he had a small quantity of money for his needs and other little things for his own use, Father F. John Dominic asked him expressly how, in case he would die, he disposed of these, what he desired should be done about them, and what his intention was. He, being rather indignant, replied to him that this question was hurtful to him; that he was a religious bound to the solemn vow of poverty, and that therefore he had nothing of his own on this earth: that about those things which the Divine Providence had lent him for his use, if anything would remain after his death, he could not make a will in any way; but all those things belong to that house in which he will die, and thus if then he would pass away that father F. John Dominic himself as being the administrator of this house he could and ought to dispose off all the things wholly independently from his will. I took the opportunity to remember these things that those may be ashamed who desired to give all things which were left behind by the dead Vicar Apostolic and indeed out of justice to the succeeding Vicar Apostolic with exclusion of our house in which the dead was staying and expired.

Not so long after the death of such a great man, the vexation against our Missionary Father F. John Dominic increased in such a way that he remained for two years almost as if in prison. For by the reason of the war of the Portuguese, with whom he was always in friendship, he was considered by the ministers of the king of Sunda or the leaders of the war as an enemy and as a secret patron of the enemies. Therefore, he, who had the charge of the war placed continually military guards at the doors of the church and of our house, lest any man of whatever condition might enter in or lest the missionary might go out from there. Then you can easily judge how great evils, inconveniences and troubles he suffered on this account. The flock without the shepherd and the shepherd without the flock—no free communication with the Christians, but only secret and of course during night: for since our house had a little door just near the bank of the river, from there it was not

difficult to elude the vigilance of the military guard at night. That leader of the band of soldiers only greedy of money, according to the custom had informed our Missionary in a round about way that he would take away the military guards and also he would grant full freedom provided he would seek it through money. But what could the very poor missionary give being reduced to a great indigence? After two years already being exhaushed from so great a vexation, which in vain he had tried to diminish through the leader of the war he laid hold of a new and a solitary plan. For suddenly on a certain day he got ready with his things for making a journey under the watch of the military guards and when they inquired the reason of this novelty he replied: "For a long time I am harassed, I am ignorant of the cause of the vexation: if I am in fault why does not your leader judge me? If I am not guilty why does he treat me so harshly? Therefore I am appealing to your king: I shall go to the king very soon: I shall have the king as my avenger." All these things immediately through the soldiers were reported to the leader, who well aware of his wrong, fearing the justice of the king, removed the guards at once and left the Missionary free and attempted to mitigate him by vain excuses and flattering words.

Therefore after the end of this tribulation our Missionary continued his Apostolic works till the year 1757. His writings in the books of this Church begin on the 28th of February 1740 and they reached upto the 23rd of October 1757. During the whole period in which he governed this Mission as a simple Missionary there were here 293 baptisms (out of whom 3 from the infidels), 203 marriages and 177 deaths.

In September 1757, letters dated the 15th of February 1756, the previous year, from Rome reached here: by these letters our Father F. John Dominic was being appointed as Bishop of Assury and was conferred on him the Vicariate Apostolic of the Great Mughal. What D. Innocentius of the Presentation before his death, not as if guessing but strongly asserting had many times predicted. Therefore, in the same year 1757 he was consecrated on the 20th of November at Verapoly by D. Florentio of Jesus, Bishop of Verapoly and Vicar Apostolic of Malabar.

It will not be out of place to consider here what and how great a glory this is for our Caruar Mission: for in the oompletion of the fiftieth year from her foundation she saw none of the five Carmelite Missionaries who was not adorned with honorific title and office. She saw three venerable Bishops crowned with the mitre, namely, D. John Baptist Mary of S. Teresa, D. Innocentius of the Presentation and this D. John Dominic of S. Clara; one, namely, Father F. Innocent of S. Leopold not only once but a second time appointed a Bishop and the remaining one, namely, Father F. Anastasius of S. Maria made Vicar Provincial which office as we have seen was not given to any one after him. Such an honour and so great a glory cannot be found in any other of our Mughal Missions upto this day. Thus this our Caruar Mission either considered in its foundation which preceded all others and by which therefore has the primacy of antiquity over all others or considered in the most illustrious Missionaries, whom she had, ought to be regarded above all the others by all our religious, to be esteemed most and to be loved with singular affection. But alas! after the time of which we are dealing now many of our Missionaries attracted by the advantage of Bombay Missionaries, esteemed her little, neglected her and despised her to such a point that if it was in their power they would have transferred her and handed her over to the secular clergy,

(*To be continued*)

SRI SANKARACARYA AND HIS MISSION *

BY S. SRIKANTAYA

WHAT IS TRUTH ?

TRUTH is what is in accordance with the moral laws of the universe and Truth is the opposite of falsehood. Truth is real and everything else is unreal. God is real. Therefore, Truth is God and God is Truth.

Truth is an intuitive perception. It is absolute. It is one. It is indivisible. It is everywhere. It is universal. It is everything. It is eternal. It is everlasting. It is Brahman. It is that which is mentioned in the Vedas ; it is that which is revealed to the ṛṣis, seers and sages ; and it is that which is proclaimed, enshrined, expounded and explained in the Upaniṣads.

Truth finds in Brahman, in the peace of Brahman, in the oneness of man and all creations of the cosmic reality and in the realisation of that oneness, the cure for all the ills of the world. The individual is one in its nature with the absolute ; it is nescience or *avidya* or ignorance that hides this great truth from the vision of the individual.

The quest in this world is for the acquisition of knowledge, for the dispelling of ignorance and for the discovery of this Truth and reality. The road lies through divine guidance to find the nature of Brahman, the Highest Reality. The secret of life and death, *i.e.* of *saṁsāra* lies in it. *Karma* or merit exhausted leads to rebirth or a fall but *Karma* burnt and destroyed leads to release, to salvation, to one's identity with Brahman. The way of a moral life and the Eight-fold path of Buddhism has been compared to the *Karma Yōga* in the Bhagavad Gīta, that of contemplation or meditation as in Zen to the *Jñāna Yōga*, that of practice as in Shingon to *Rāja Yōga* and that of grace of a Buddha, *i.e.* Amitabha or Akṣobhya to the *Bhakti Yōga*.

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* Continued from Vol. XLVI, page 31.

God is Truth

If God is everything and everything is God, then it is that God who is the eternal quest, through religion. He is human nature's highest need. He is supernatural and reveals himself through the spiritual experiences of the great prophets and seers, ṛṣis and ācāryas.

The individuality of Hinduism is its great insistence on fruits, self-control, detachment, truth and non-violence. Ritual, prayer, meditation enforce faith, belief, discipline and self-control, provide an outlet for religious emotion and fervour and help detachment in action from the desires of the world. Morality and a moral life are essential and necessary but are not enough for the liberation of man, as man's separateness and sin do not disappear merely from a moral life. Man must rush to God, take refuge in Him and be one with Him. With *bhakti*, love and devotion, it will be possible for man to leave his separate self behind and be merged in Him. For the reality is one though people speak of it in different ways.

The fundamental ethical conceptions—good, right, duty, obligation, virtue and merit—exist everywhere and in every society. From the period of the early Vedic religion where from the polytheistic character and the nature of the Vedic gods was emerging a monotheistic conception and atheistic and monotheistic tendencies were developing, to the flowering period of the Upaniṣads where *ātman* and Brahman, *māya* or *avidya* and *bhakti*, *jīva*, gross and subtle bodies, *prāṇa*, *manas*, *vijñāna*, waking, dream, sleep and *turiya*, evil, its nature and origin, *mokṣa*, the conception of Īs'vara; creation and absorption of the world, classification of created things, the doctrine of *karma*, its origin and value, provided ample material for reflection and intellectual dialectic. Broadly speaking, it may be said, that is *bhakti jñāna* in exaltation. The absolute is spiritual perfection beyond good and evil. The soul is identical with God but actually it is found subject to *upādhis* which prevent it from realising its identity. All our suffering and sin are due to a false notion of a separate self

and our salvation lies in overcoming this separateness. By *sādhana* every one can attain realisation and be merged and become one with God Himself.

VEDAS TO UPANISADS

Whether the Vedas had their origin in the Indus Valley or elsewhere, they depict a pastoral society and portray natural phenomena. There is no rigidity of the caste system, at all events, as we now know it, in the Vedic period and it may even be said that the hymns of the Ṛgveda treat religion with open scorn (RV. 7-103 ; 9-113). There is, however, a complex system of worship and strong movements of a philosophical tendency are apparent in the Ṛgveda, providing the back-ground from the crass and cynical materialism of the Cāruvakas to the highest flights of Vedāntic thought which attempt to solve the riddle of the creation and grasp the one formless principle of all that has forms in the identity of man with his maker.

For thousands of years, civilisation flourished in river valleys almost everywhere and 'the animistic hypothesis, *i.e.* the soul theories—of their savage ancestors' may have been regarded as sufficient by even progressive races to explain all that they saw or felt. No wonder then, that there were parallel developments in thought and action in widely different parts of the world where animism, magic, ritual, sacrifice and superstition, austerities and a hard-life were the characteristic features which marked out a *tapasvee*. Reverence to the *tapasvee* followed as a natural course.

Invariably, the highest class of these spiritual teachers and recluses were wanderers, who lived by begging, disdaining and owning no property, not residing at any place for long. Some of these, however, established hermitages or *gurukulas* or *ṛiṣyās'ramās* in the forests where students congregated to receive Vedic training. The wanderers enjoyed perfect freedom of thought and expression. In a manner of speaking, they were the precursors of the modern day *Vidyādān* movement and enjoyed a reputation unequalled in the history of the world. Uddalaka of the Gautama family was one such. They held disputations and those defeated

in argument acknowledged the master and became his disciple. There must have been a long interval of time between the close of the period during which the hymns of the Ṛgveda were collected and the rise of Buddhism.

Several of the Upaniṣads are pre-Buddhistic and are contributions to the greatest flights of Vedāntic thought and provide spiritual food. They teach with one voice that there is no release to the soul from rebirth either by the performance of sacrifice or by the practice of penance in this birth. It is only by perception, or knowledge of its identity with the great soul, Brahman, that such a release is attained. There is one soul, the world soul, that is *Paramātman*, from whom all other souls proceed is first taught by the Kṣatriyas and later expounded and enlarged by the Brāhmins. Laymen think of the divine powers of nature, for good and evil, in the plenty they yield and in the destruction and misery caused by fire and flood, thunderbolt and disease. So begins propitiation of the divine power, rite, festival, sacrifice, duty and discipline, invigorating influences in the simple economic life of the time. Vedic Brahman is thus real, objective, *saguṇa* endowed with qualities, enjoying life, eating, drinking, dancing, happy and growing. In contrast, Brahman of the Upaniṣads is one great intellectual revolution. "The multiplicity of nature is reduced to a unity and the multiplicity of the gods, corresponding to the multiplicity of nature, is seen to reflect a single will because all are labourers together in maintaining a single all comprehensive cosmic order." The identity of the Brahman and the *ātman* has had considerable repurcussions on ethical ideas. It is not mere evolutionary forces that lead to this identity but a revolutionary departure from the Vedic tradition. Manu has found that God is himself and there is no need to propitiate him. "The passage of the Indian mind from the Brāhminic to the Upaniṣadic thought is probably the most remarkable in the history of philosophical thought."

THE UPANISADS

The Upaniṣads, the *sūtras* and the Bhagavad Gīta are interrelated and their teachings are identical though with varying

stress or emphasis concerning the mystical, metaphysical or moral aspects of Vedic truth. The Upaniṣads are part of the Vedas and Vedic learning. They form the Brāhmaṇa portion of the Vedas and are sometimes called also as Āraṇyakās. They are not regular philosophical treatises nor composed at one time nor by any one individual: and they belong to several centuries before Christ if not to a millennium or so B. C. These inspired talks of the sages are the greatest cultural heritage of India and of the world.

The Upaniṣads accept the primacy of mystic appearance and assign a subordinate place to the intellect. The philosophy of the Upaniṣads is deeply religious but catholic, spiritual and non. ritualistic in its outlook. The sacrifices are considered frail and leaky boats which do not take the traveller to the haven. Militating against the *Karmakānda* or the path of the rituals, they prescribe no ceremonies. Here there are no temples, nor scriptures: there is neither priest nor priest-craft; the only authority recognised is that of Truth. Equally unsatisfied with mere intellectual effort, the Upaniṣads favour further cultivation of the art of intuition and the probing of consciousness in order to obtain spiritual illumination and the joy of living. From the Upaniṣads we learn how the great thinkers of our hoary past grappled with the problem of life, not merely to discover its relation to our conduct and happiness but also to derive the supreme satisfaction of having realised the stable foundation of the phenominal universe.

The Upaniṣads contain the essential ideas and teachings associated with man and the life of man and embody the governing principles of a cultured life. They help man in his search for the eternal. They provide him with spiritual knowledge and furnish an inquiry into the ultimate truth. The emancipation of the individual soul from the bondage of *saṁsāra* which is due to ignorance and limitation is their end and aim. The way to attain real knowledge is laid bare. For this intellect, logic and reason are not enough. Intuition, purification of the body and mind, non-attachment, concentration and meditation are required. So, the Upaniṣads deal also with *karma* and *jñāna* and rebirth, etc. and believe in the continuity of life after the death of the physical body.

The soul, however, has a destiny. *Karma* or merit exhausted gives rise to rebirth. There are only two paths that life offers to man: that of knowledge and that of suffering. When the path of knowledge is not chosen, that of suffering becomes inevitable, till after repeated rebirths the wearied soul is forced to choose the path of wisdom which puts an end to all suffering and leads to everlasting bliss. The highest duty for man is to follow the path prescribed for overcoming *saṁsāra* and for the attainment of *mokṣa*. The purpose in life and the activity in life will have some meaning to the extent they relate to the endeavour of knowing the highest truth. These are the core of all Upaniṣadic teachings.

The Upaniṣads to appearances do seem to teach a system of pantheism but a closer study will show that they teach various systems of doctrines concerning the nature of God, man and the world and the relation between them.

The idea of the immanence of God in the world is very prominent in the Upaniṣads. With the immanence of God is associated also His transcendence. Further, God is the protector of all things. He is the Lord of all and He dwells in the heart of man. So seeing Him as He is and everywhere is bliss eternal. This can only be attained by contemplation and purification of the soul. When in that blissful condition, the individual attains oneness with the Supreme.

The conception that the supreme spirit manifests itself in various forms as found in the Upaniṣads is a development of the original idea that one God say Agni is the same as any or all of the others referred to as such, *e.g.* Mitra, Varuṇa, etc. If these several Gods are one, then the one God may become several. Hence, the incarnations or *avatāra*. It is not a question of the plurality of gods but different manifestations of Brahman.

Vedānta therefore evaluates life as one whole, in its entirety, in terms not of wealth, pleasure or other objects of worldly desire but in those of Absolute Reality. The Upaniṣads set out the highest truth in its most perfect, unambiguous and rational form and they

form the compendium of the teachings bearing on Brahman or the highest Reality. There is no assertion anywhere 'incompatible with reason or unverifiable by experience.' The Absolute Reality of the Upaniṣads vitalises and bathes all in its spiritual food.

The Vedānta has been generally considered to be post-Buddhistic. We can then boldly assert that the Vedas contain the seeds and that the Upaniṣads are the brilliant harvest of the Indian philosopher in search of truth, culminating in the *Darśaṇās*. The Upaniṣads examine all sources of knowledge. *Smṛtis* or revelations should not be extra-empirical, unattainable and unattained, if they are to be accepted. From the known they proceed to the unknown; what is revealed must be inherently coherent and not against reason and revealed 'truth' must appear probable. As will be noticed presently, of the systems of the *darśaṇas*, the *Sāṁkhya* disregarded the three *pramāṇas*, *pratyakṣa*, *anumāna* and *sabda* while the Vedānta specially emphasised its use.

Thus, the Upaniṣads satisfy every degree of human inteligence and they are remarkable and wonderful for their marvellous insight seeming variety of human nature and of human experience. As Lord S'rī Kṛṣṇa says, no true devotee will perish. In short, 'The Upaniṣads sought (and seek) to swing the human mind from heavy ritual and sacrifices to deep meditation, from the lusty self to the disciplined soul, from material wealth to spiritual peace, from the external world to the internal consciousness, from objective reality to subjective truth.' They reveal the sublimest truths of Hindu philosohhy of which they are the source and lead man to apprehend Brahman by showing him the road from ignorance to wisdom and from misery to happiness. The Upaniṣads alone of all the holy books of the world contain the doctrine that gives the ultimate solution to the enigma of life and existence. Naturally, they are the seeds of the *Darśaṇas*.

The Darsanas

Of the several systems or schools of philosophical thought which arose out of the teachings of the Upaniṣads, the most prominent ones, known as the six dars'aṇas may be mentioned. They

are the Vaiśiśika of Kaṇāda, the Nyāya of Gautama, the Sāṁkhya of Kapila, the Yōga of Patāñjali, the Mīmāṁsa (Pūrva) of Jaimini and the Vedānta or Uttara Mīmāṁsa of Bādarāyaṇa. Of course, Jainism and Buddhism which are also non-Vedic have already been dealt with.

The first independent thinker and leader of these movements was Kaṇāda, the founder of the Vaiśēśika system. He propounded that the universe was made of atoms and that each atom was eternal. Conjunction of atoms led to manifestation of nature and their disunion into dissolution of the world. The system was not popular for long and was put back by the Nyāya of Gautama. He held that the world was the outcome of knowledge. Man attained liberation from false knowledge of objects by right reason. This also proved unsatisfactory, for people believed that knowledge could not exist alone and that it should have some body.

The difference between the Nyāya system attributed to Gautama and of the Vaiśēśika of Kaṇāda lies in the introduction of the theory of atoms by Kaṇāda. The cause of the concurrence of these atoms is either the will of the creator or time or any other complete thing.

Kapila expounded the Sāṁkhya system. By the time Kapila founded it, people had become wise enough to realise the importance of the Vedas. He expounded the Sāṁkhya system for the adaptation of the general masses of the people. This simple system of the numbers was so called because it treated of the substances created by both Puruṣa (subject) and Prakṛti though unmanifested in the beginning was still eternal. While Kaṇāda classified the substances into nine divisions, *i.e.* the five elements, *kala* (time), *dik* (space), *ātma* (self) and *manas* (mind) and considered *ākāṣa* to be eternal and infinitive and the other four elements temporal in appearance and named perceptible things and qualities under six categories, Gautama laid down the perceptible things under sixteen purposes with definite signs and symptoms. Kapila held that Prakṛti created substances of twenty-three kinds. Matter was of three *guṇas* and when in equilibrium there was no activity in nature. Puruṣa divided himself into small atoms. Prakṛti joined with

them and formed spiritual *ādhyāthmic* and human, animal and other earthly, *ādibhautic* creations. Prakṛti kept each ātman under activity in worldly life until he was willing to be active in conjunction with her. But when people got tired of nature and wanted to have true knowledge, Prakṛti imparted the same to him and departed from him for ever. In this system (of *advaita*) Kapila conceded the transcendental nature of Puruṣa (God) as he thought that people would be dismayed by the long distance of God. He gave much prominence to the Vedic principle that God is ever in you. He made the nature of Prakṛti independent but lighter and submissive at the will of ātman in order to keep up activity and interest of the people in worldly developments. However, people found it hard to understand and to control. This paved the way for the Yōga of Pātañjali. While maintaining the philosophy of Kapila, Patāñjali adumbrated that God was one, omnipresent, unlimited, absolutely free from pain and desire. He should be worshipped, either within or one should resort to the practice of Yōga to gain psychic powers and enjoy the bliss of samādhi. Indiscriminate and bad use of these psychic powers for selfish objects and purposes, however, led to deterioration and decay in public life. Then, in course of time, to encounter this difficulty, Jaimini arose laying emphasis on the importance of *yajñās* and worship of the demi-gods. And later Vyāsa or Bādarāyaṇa laid stress on the Vedānta philosophy and the Brahma Sūtras. The ancient Vedic religion thus came back to power.

The atomic theory of the Vais'ēs'ikas is propounded by S'aṁkara as irrational, contrary to Vedic teaching, not approved by the learned and as semi-ritualistic and semi-destructive. Buddhism is wholly ritualistic and in it there is no God, no prayer, no asceticism, no coercion, no categorical imperative.

The only reality is ātman and it is the subject of all philosophical inquiry. Ātman is unknowable. The ātman is conceived as an absolute unity while the world is a plurality.

While Mīmāṁsa is a methodical work treating of the various questions arising out of the complicated Vedic ritual, Yōga is an exposition of the method of attaining union with the ātman by

means of mental concentration. Nyāya as its name indicates is concerned with logic and incidentally it deals with philosophical questions.

Even the Sāṁkhya and the Vedānta are not to be considered as original creations of the philosophical mind, for the admittedly common basis of both as well as of Buddhism and Jainism is to be found in the Upaniṣads. It is the idea of the Upaniṣads which developed into Buddhism on one side and the Sāṁkhya system on the other. Unlike both, the later Vedānta of Bādarāyaṇa and S'aṁkara went back to the Upaniṣads to propound on them that great system of the Vedānta which is acknowledged on all hands to be the ripest fruit of Hinduism.

Thus, under all the three systems, Upaniṣads, Sāṁkhya and Yōga, the ultimate aim is to arrive at the supreme state of consciousness where the notion of the individuality is merged in the realisation of the true nature of self. When *Karma* is exhausted, rebirth goes, soul reaches the goal and there is final liberation.

Knowledge, purity of life, restraint of desire and the senses and a calm mind are needed for the diminution and gradual diminution of *Karma* and of rebirths. According to S'aṁkara, man realises that he is not part of the material world with its phantasies and that the way of knowledge is the way of salvation. In Yōga, divine consciousness is admitted and man strives for his union with Īs'vara. There is no insistence on knowledge but on contemplation; and breath control, exercises, etc. are prescribed, for contemplation is the way of salvation.

Both are found in the Bhagavad Gīta. Under the new doctrine of *bhakti*, duty is enjoined as an offering to God, without thought of reward. Knowledge or renunciation by itself is not enough, it is only a means to an end. Ecstatic contemplation and ascetic practices lead man to the goal but not without knowledge. Bhagvad Gīta therefore proclaims that the way of sacrifice (*yajña*) is the only way for salvation, for it is the only one that makes no *karma* and hence conducts us to the goal.

In the *advaitic* system, the matter is denied existence independent of God and the individual soul is also denied existence independent of God. The distinguishing characteristic which belongs exclusively to the *advaita* system is its enunciation of the non-existence of the universe of matter or of the individual soul independent of God which is called Brahman. This is responsible for the name *advaita* which this system has appropriated to itself and by which it is generally known to all. It does not admit that the universe is filled with *jīvas* or that no two *jīvas* are alike. It is a negation of duality. It is not a negation of two gods but it is the negation of the two-ness in God, negation of any second principle independent of God, nor is it that the soul is no other than the physical body itself. *Māya* is not a second principle. Viewing it even as the *śakti*, power or potentiality of Brahman, it can have no independent existence of its own apart from Brahman. In fact, it has no existence at all (*māya*) but seems to be. Vedānta is not impractical and it is not mere monistic idealism. The Upaniṣads are verily the repository of spiritual treasures.

According to the Viṣis'tādvaita system of S'rī Rāmānujacārya, the absolute is not impersonal. He is omniscient, omnipotent and full of boundless love. He is *saguṇa* and not *nirguṇa*. The world is absolutely real, being an inseparable *prakāra* or abode of God. The *jīva* or individual soul is absolutely real and eternally distant from God, though God being omnipresent, always dwells in it. *Mokṣa* is freedom from *saṁsāra* and it is attained from *bhakti* which leads to it. *Karma* and *jñāna* are only means to *bhakti*. With S'rī Madhvācārya, dualism is unqualified. God is distinct from the *jīvas* as well as from matter and the *jīvas* are distinct from matter and from one another. Further, one part of the matter is distinct from another. So God, *jīva* and matter (world) are fundamentally different.

JESUS AND MUHAMMAD

Jesus, a person of intense personal magnetism strived and changed human thought, but his condemnation of the gradations

was of the economic system and he proclaimed that all men belonged to the kingdom of heaven and promised a righteous life to all. There was the service of God's will with all that we had and that we were. Jesus insisted on a belief in God and His power to save. He regarded the temple at Jerusalem as the house of his Father. He claimed to be the son of God : sometimes the son of man and promised salvation only to those who believed in Him. There was nothing to prevent a personal disciple of Jesus from his acceptance of all the recorded preachings of Gautama Buddha. They were religions of the heart which swept away the various and limited gods that had served the turn of human needs from the dawn of time. In Islam again reappeared the same fundamental doctrine of the need of a universal devotion of all men to one will. There is no spirit of exclusiveness in it and Muhammad and Jesus and Gautama had each one of them to support his assertion of the supremacy of the God by saying that he was the messenger or prophet or the enlightened one but that only, enlarging as it were the broad idea of human brotherhood under God or otherwise. An angel had revealed to Muhammad certain verses that involved an assertion of the Unity of God and of righteousness. Muhammad sanctified Mecca. Unlike Jesus, Muhammad professed to reveal the commandment of God and claimed no higher powers for himself than those of a prophet or honours due to one such. He insisted on the equality of all souls before God. So, Muhammad insisted upon a future life, fear of hell for the negligent and the evil doer and the reservation of paradise for the believer in the one God. Christianity and Islam seek to supply a common moral education to the people and a common idea of human purpose and destiny. In the teachings of Jesus and Muhammad God appears in anthropomorphic colours and His personality is sweet or terrible, according to individual merits. They do not allude to *karma* or rebirth : They give to the world simple theological ideas appealing more to the emotions of the common people than to the understanding of the enlightened. Christianity refers to inherited sin and Judaism, Christianity and Islam give an account of the fall of man. The doctrine of original sin demands a saviour. The

history of Christianity and Muhammadanism is a series of acts of bloodshed, territorial conquest and acquisition of temporal power from zeal and from fanaticism. There has been no religious persecution in India which marked the progress of Christianity and Islam.

Gautama Buddha insisted on control of desire and renunciation. Though born in a land of idolatry, he was little troubled about temples and in his addresses to individuals and assemblies, he laid stress on individual effort. According to him every soul including his own was of the same nature and had the same destiny, which it could realise by the same method. He referred to no heaven or hell or to a God that led the human soul through death to either of those places according to its deserts but emphasised extinction of desire, subduing of will and the conquest of ignorance. To him, *Karma* and rebirth were truths beyond dispute. His system is philosophical, profoundly moral and intellectual. The scientific analysis of human nature of life as made up of *avasthas* is very prominent in Buddhism. To anticipate, the same may be repeated of S'aṁkara and his work.

Vedānta refers to ignorance, *māya*, the beginningless nescience — sin emanates from the ego's assertion of its will. Knowledge releases from the bonds of ignorance. God is the preceptor and He and the scriptures are the means, Brahman manifesting himself in the shape of the world and of the great teacher. [Bhagavad Gīta. IV. 7.8.] There is nothing to indicate that the missionary and proselytizing religions of Christians and Islam influenced the teachings of S'aṁkara.

Post Darsana Period: India before Sankara

By the seventh century A. D. the Kuśānas or Yue-chi had invaded large parts of India with its patch-work of petty states except that the Guptas held sway over large parts of it. The foreign invasions through the centuries made little difference in the ideas, the religious beliefs or the ordinary ways of life of the people. Brāhminism and Buddhism subsisted side by side but in the

competition Buddhism was intellectually undermined by gilded decoration and Brāhminism was gaining ground.

With the spread of Buddhism and Jainism in the country arose different sects like the Kāpālikas, Kāḷāmukhas and the Pāśupathas. Famine and distress overtook and desolated the land. The pathetic condition in South India with particular reference to Kāñchi is described in the Avantīsundarī Katha, a work of the last quarter of the seventh century A.D. S'iva, according to the Tamil accounts also had sworn to put down Buddhism which had assumed various decadent forms.

Killing animal life and flesh eating increased, all in the name of sacrifice. Gautama Buddha had protested against the *yajña* or Vedic sacrifice and begun to attack the sinfulness of killing and to expound the true meaning of yōga and *yajña*. Killing and eating of the flesh of animals was not *yajña*. The man's heart was the sacrificial pit or *yajñakunda*, the ghee was the senses and the goats or sheep to be sacrificed the anger in man. Eating was for the preservation of life and that was the *yajñacaru* and the drink taken to sustain life was the *sōma pāna*. The limit of the *yajña* was life itself. So, man had to abandon anger, senses, etc.

Man in India is ordinarily an agriculturist, seeking a quiet, uneventful, peaceful life with his wife and children and elders and dependants, living on the produce of his land, with very few wants to satisfy, living loyally and true to God. He is a devout believer in God whom he worships. He does not spend much in the performance of costly sacrifices but is content with simple ceremonies and such humble offerings as he can afford. He is concerned with and anxious for the welfare of his family, to get plentiful crops and multiplying breeding cattle. He is unperturbed by the conflicts and confusion of ideas spread around him and the prayers, rituals sacrifices and incantations for restoring concord.

Where there are no rules and regulations or a code of couduct for the guidance and affairs of men in religious and social life enforceable by law or custom, when indiscipline reigns supreme,

and vice increases, the resort will be to irresponsible action amongst the less educated, ignorant and illiterature masses. Faith and reverence and respect disappears and the world will be anxiously looking forward for a redeemer.

In this welter and confusion and conflict of religious opinions and spiritual decay, some propound resignation of the world by self-abnegation, some introduce the doctrine of *māya* to bring harmony and peace, pleasure and happiness of man amidst these varying, divergent and conflicting ideas. Stress is laid on the epics — The Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata, and the Bhagavad Gīta, the Purāṇas, etc. For the peace of the world and for the safety of mankind, when respect for man dwindles owing to the propagation of atheistic doctrines and there is no faith in God and in his powers, it becomes necessary once again to revitalise and re-establish *sanātana dharma.*

Sanātana dharma is all embracing and wide enough to strengthen the common fellowship of men with their own different *iṣṭa dēvatas* to which they are attached.

In the sixth and seventh centuries A.C. South India witnessed the birth of four great S'aiva preachers, Manikkavacakkar, Sambandar, Appar and Sundarar, all of whom were wandering ministrels going about from place to place singing hymns of God Īśvara. Tiruvācakam by Manikkavācakkar is a master-piece in Tamil literature, full of spontaneous streams of praise gushing forth from the divine spring of love and affection. This saint was first a minister of a Pāṇḍyan king who afterwards persecuted and imprisoned him. When S'iva's grace secured his release, ever afterwards, he went about singing hymns in his praise. The songs of the other three, born later in the seventh and eighth centuries, are collected in the *Tēvaram*, a popular book of songs, put into its present form in the tenth century.

When atheism held the country in its deadly grip, the devotional songs of the *Ālwars* and *Nāyanmārs* particularly in South India kept alive the message of Hinduism and rejuvenated religious

ideals. This cult of *bhakti* in time became the corner-stone of Hinduism as evidenced by the work of Rāmānanda, Chaitanya, Mīra Bai, Kabir, Purandhara Dāsa and others.

At the time of S'rī S'aṁkara's birth, Buddhism was already showing signs of decay; Jainism was showing a tendency to replace Buddhism here and there; the Kāpālika sect was given to drink and human sacrifices; the tāntric sects were following the left-hand path and indulging in objectionable practices. There were fire-worshippers amongst whom the custom of branding images and symbols on different parts of the body, which seem to have been universal in the time of S'rī S'aṁkara and which as '*tapta mudra*' (तप्तमुद्र) persists even now amongst some sects was in vogue; there were those who worshipped the Sun and the Moon in non-Vedic forms introduced by foreign invaders; and added to these many other objectionable cults and practices were adopted from the aboriginal population.

Non-Orthodox Schools in S'ankara's Time

At the time of S'rī S'aṁkara there were several non-orthodox schools. The Lōkāyatas or the Cāruvākas, Arhat or Jaina, Tathāgata or the Buddhist, the Pāncarātra, the Pās'upata and Kaula, the last three being developments of the Yōga, Mīmāmsa and Vedānta *dars'aṇas* respectively, giving prominence to *bhakti* (devotion), *karma* (action) and *jñāna* (knowledge) and the work of S'rī S'aṁkara was to counteract the evil effects of these non-orthodox schools and their preachings and practices.

The Cāruvakas were a materialistic school of thinkers who once exercised no small influence on Indian philosophical thought and speculations. They were sceptics like the stoics of ancient Greece. In the S'āntiparvan of the Mahābhārata, a Cāruvaka is described as a *rākṣaṣa* who in the guise of a mendicant Brāhmaṇa reviled Yudhistara during his triumphant entry into Hastināpura and uttered profane and heretical doctrines and was thereupon killed by the infuriated Brāhmaṇas.

The Lōkāyatas, a subdivision who derived from the aphorisms of Bṛhaspathi, rejected all the *pramāṇas* or sources of true

knowledge except what was *pratyakṣa* or perceived by the senses. They admitted only the four elements or *tattvas*, *i.e.* the earth, air, fire and water from which they alleged intelligence (*caitanya*) was produced. According to them, the soul was not different from the body and all the phenomena of the world were spontaneously produced, without even the help of *adṛṣta* (अदृष्ट). According to Dr. Bhandarkar the Kāḷāmukhas or the Pāśupatha school came into prominence first about the second century B.C., *i.e.* a century after the advent of the Pāncarātra system. The Dravidian S'aivism which is traced from the latter half of the seventh century A.C. was to assume great importance later on. There are three *avasthas* of the soul in it. The soul is different from God, it is formless and all pervasive but unlike that of *acit* or matter. Its pervading power consists in becoming one with the things it dwells in for the time being. Its eternal intelligence and power are eternally concealed by the *pās'a* or bondage and hence it is called *pas'u*.

The Kāpāḷikas, the Kāḷāmukhas and the Vāmācāras followed the acts of S'iva in the *ghora* form, *i.e.* in dancing and singing wildly in the cremation ground, smearing ashes of the dead on their bodies, wearing garlands of human bones and skulls, wandering naked, tempting and enticing women, wearing *jata* or matted hair, drinking and eating from human skulls, sunk in pleasure and ease, eating flesh, drinking liquor and resorting to promiscuous inter-course. All at a time when, as a result of the preachings of the Buddha and Mahāvīra, the *Vaidīkas* had practically given up flesh and liquor. Moral deprivity had degraded the entire life of the community. A large number of the Brāhmaṇas had also become *Vedabāhyas* and embraced these non-Āryan cults.

The Kāpālikas are an ancient but extreme sect of S'aivas with rites and ceremonies more revolting than those of the Kāḷāmukhas. They have fanciful theories of reality which are in conflict with the Vedas and they invent various means for attaining happiness in this life and in the next. They maintain the general material and operative cause to be distinct and the latter constituted by Pās'u-pathi. They further hold the wearing of the six *mudras*, badges and the like to be the means to accomplish the highest end of man.

S'aṁkara in his travels is said to have come across members of the Kāpālika sect who tried to persuade him to drink wine in a bowl of a human skull and wear a garland of skulls and cowries but that he refused to listen to them and that their attempts to persuade him by magic and sorcery recoiled on themselves. The sacred books of the Kāpālikas were the tantras which though following the philosophy of the Upaniṣads and Yōgas'āstra differed from them in laying stress on the worship of women, flesh and wine and the equality of all classes of the people including the *pancamas* (Harijans) in the act of divine worship.

The Lakulīs'as and Pās'upathas believe also in divine dispensation which need not be based upon the good or evil *karma* of the soul. Their tenets according to Sarvadars'aṇa Saṁgraha are: the end of pain is *anātmaka* (absolute freedom from pain) or *S'atmaka mokṣa, i.e.* the possession of *Kṛiyāsakti* and *Jñānasakti.* There is no effect following from causes: all dependent objects are effects.

People were performing *karma* and offering *havis* to the dēvas. The Cāruvakas, the Buddhists and other atheistic faiths under the influence of preaching, bereft of their prayer, *yajña* and sacrifice and following tāntric practices, wearing *liṅga*, *cakra* and *saṁkha*, eating leavings of others, drinking wine, etc. attacked the Vedas as untrue, containing interpolations in the text and denied the existence of God. Kumārila's work and his emphasis on *karma* were thus helpful for the preaching of S'aṁkara.

ALLEGIANCE OF PEOPLE DIVIDED

Allegiance of the people was divided between Buddhism and Jainism and between the Kāpālikas and S'ākta worship. In such a state of things, the world was prepared by Lord Subramanya for the *avatara* and the birth of S'rī S'aṁkara. In the setting, Brahma was to be born as Maṇḍana Misra, Viṣṇu as Sanandana or Padmapāda, Indra as Sudhanva, Vāyu or Pavana as Hastāmalaka, Anala or Fire as Udanka or Ānandagiri (āmalaka = *terminalia chebula*). Prācētas or Varuṇa as Citsukha, Mṛtyu as Pṛthivīdhara and Yama as Vis'varūpa. The ṛṣis had been born as men. S'rīman Nārayāṇa

or Viṣṇu as Patañjali was propounding and explaining the yōga-s'āstra. Ādis'ēṣa was preaching the *upasana kānda* in conformity with what has been laid down in the Vedic texts and Vedic doctrines. Kumārilaswamy or S'anmukha was expounding as Kumārila Bhaṭṭa Pāda the Jaiminīya Sūtras and propagating the *Karma-kānda*. Brahma as Manḍana Misra was a disciple of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa whom Mahēndra as king Sudhanva was expecting. Lord S'iva himself was to take birth to re-establish and to propound the *Jñāna mārga*.

Karma, *upāsana* and *jñāna mārgas* or the three paths of life are all essential for the propagation and sustenance of dharma and are the foundations for propounding completely the Vedic teachings.

NARADA RECOUNTS NEWS OF WORLD

Sage Nārada was recounting the news of the world to S'iva where he was with her consert Pārvatī in his abode, Mount Kailasa, when Brahma went there and praised Īs'vara. Pleased with this and having heard of the news of the earth, S'iva agreed to take incarnation in the form of S'aṁkara for putting down and destroying bad faiths and to establish pure *advaita* and *Brahma Vidyā*. The twice born had become immersed in the observances of the *mlenccas*. S'iva had said before to his consort, Pārvatī, that he would take the incarnation as S'aṁkra with four disciples, with the knowledge of the Upaniṣads acquired from Mahēs'varī, that he would conquer the *pās'ānḍas* (heretics) on a suitable occasion. That was when virtue dwindled and people were bent on vicious deeds, after abandoning all good and virtuous actions and going outside the pale of *Varṇās'rama dharma*, inclining toward bad deeds, sunk in the sea of Kali and crying about in distress, helplessness and misery. When Sūtha Purāṇika came to Naimis'āraṇya, Sanaka and other sages after a cordial welcome and greeting to him requested him for information regarding what was mentioned in *S'ivarahasya* according to which, when Pārvatī and Paramēs'vara were together in Kailasa, S'iva bad undertaken, when two thousand years had elapsed in the Kali Yuga, to assume human form and take birth as a Brāhmaṇa to put down

atheistic preaching and practice and protect Vedic dharma and wanted to know what that *avatāra* was to be, who would be his parents in his earthly life and so on.

Formerly, Viṣṇu or Nārāyaṇa, to destroy the dharma of the wives of *rākṣasas*, Tripuras, who boasting of protection under that *dharma* were insulting and tormenting the dēvatas, had assumed a human form and later as Buddha by subtle and varied interpretations of Vedic texts had preached doctrines opposed to Vedic dharma and even Brāhmaṇas were deceived by this teaching and had abandoned the performance of their daily duties and had misinterpreted the Vedic texts. *Yajña* and *Karma* were on the wane : among other things selfishness and greed had increased.

Sri Sankara's Birth

In the Kali age to uproot *adharma* and restore *dharma*, S'iva took birth. From out of himself he created in the Kēraḷa country a sage-like Brāhmaṇa in order to destroy sin, increase virtue and broadcast to all and sundry the need for devotion to his worshippers and disciples. And he ordained that by merely listening to the stories of his devotees who incarnate in the Kali age, devotion shall increase, sin be destroyed and virtue regain its strength. The revival of *Vaidīka* (*Sanātana*) *dharma* free from Buddhistic and Cāruvāka ideals, their control and their temptations was imperative. Distressed at the growing strength of Buddhist and Jaina faiths and the corresponding weakness in the true conception of Hinduism, Lord S'iva took incarnation as S'aṁkara in the year *Nandana*, *Vais'āka S'uddha* 5, (The fifth day of the bright half of the month of *Vais'āka* in the year *Nandana*) under the constellation *Punarvasu*, said to correspond to Kali Yuga 2593 (B.C. 509).

S'aṁkara is said to have been born in Salala in the 2593rd year of the Kali age on the fifth day of the bright half of the month of *Vais'āka* in the year *Nandana*, on a Monday in the constellation *Punarvasu*, in the ascendant of *Karkātaka*, *Candra* being in *Kataka* and *Guru*, *Sani*, *Kuja* and Sun in an excellent benefic position, in *abhijin muhūrta*, a day considered as exceedingly

favourable for the birth of a great personage. When S'aṁkara was born, it is said the Sun was in *Mēs'a*, Mercury and Venus were posited in *Vṛṣabha*, Saturn in *Tula*, Mars in *Makara*, Moon in *Mithuna*, the birth star being *Punarvasu* in the ascendant *Karkātaka*. The story goes that on the head of the new born babe was visible the crescent moon, the sign of the trident was seen in the palm, a girdle of the cobra appeared on the heart and on the broad forehead was another and the third eye. The neck was blue.

Except that S'aṁkara was born on *Vaiśākha Suddha* 5 of the year *Nandana* and attained *Sāmadhi* on *Vaiśākha Suddha* 11 of the year *Raktākṣi* following, nothing else about his date is definite. Monday was the week day. From the planetary position in his horoscope, which again is based on conjecture, his date has to be fixed.

S'rī Paraśurāma, an incarnation of Viṣṇu who was the predecessor in the *avatāra* of Viṣṇu to S'rī Rāmachandra was said by the exercise of his supernatural powers to have reclaimed from the sea, the land between it and the Western Ghats and bestowed the reclaimed land upon the Brāhmaṇas and an inferior race which he created in order to minister to the pleasure, wants and requirements of the Brāhmaṇas there.

The country of Kērala is the cynosure of the tourist, the land of peace and plenty and well-known for its landscape. In this country of Paras'urāma Kṣetra in Kērala, the home of virgin beauty, in the *agrahāra* of Salala or Kālaṭi, S'rī S'aṁkara took his birth, of glorious and well-to-do parents, in order to dispel the *nāstika* or atheistic ideals and to establish the *āsthika* creed in this world. S'aṁkara's father was S'ivaguru, the son of a Namboodri Brāhmin called Vidhyādhirāja and his mother was Āryāmbika, the daughter of Magha Pandita, belonging to the Agastya gōtra. They lived at Kālaṭi on the banks of the Choorna or Purna river, the Periar or Alwaye, the longest river of Kērala and not having children for many years, S'ivaguru undertook a

great penance on the Vṛṣabhācala Hill over-looking the Choorna river. S'iva appeared in the guise of an old man and promised him a glorious but short-lived son.

INCARNATION OF SRI SANKARA

On the expiry of 2,000 years in the Kali Age, in the year 509 B.C. corresponding to Kali Yuga 2593, or 2885 years in the Kali Yuga according to *S'ivarahasya*, *Punyas'loka mañjari* and *Guru-ratnamāla*, the *Guruparamparas* (the lineage of the gurus) and other works, the incarnation of S'rī S'aṁkara is said to have taken place. For then had settled in the Āryavarta, Sārasvatas, Gowdas, mixed castes and other Brāhmaṇas who wore skins on their ears, who all ate uncooked fish and who settled in increasing numbers in the religious South of the Vindhyās. People professed knowledge of the meaning of the words and went on hair-splitting in philosophical vocabulary merely for the sake of hair-splitting. In this Kali age, preachers of Jainism and Buddhism possessed knowledge and studied the *mīmāmsa s'āstras* which formed the basis and support of the Vedas and to sentences of the Vedas full of knowledge, they gave quibbling explanations considering as important only that which was demonstrable, positive and capable of proof and visible or seen or engaging them on the discussions of the same. Some of these had become hindrances to many and molesters to others. These mixed castes formed the big swords of their so-called s'āstras attempting to cut the *advaita dharma.*

S'rī S'aṁkara was the incarnation of India's youth and spirituality. All around him were orthodox cults only Vedic in name but really a mass of heterodox groups with nothing in common but antagonism to the Veda. Mechanical performance of elaborate rituals proclaimed secularism as a noble ideal but indulged in questionable practices.

(*To be continued*)

MALIK AMBAR'S FINANCIAL ADMINISTRATION*

By B. G. Tamaskar

Land Measures

THE following land measure obtained during Malik Ambar's times :

One land measures has been given by Sabhasad in his Bakhar (see p. 29). It is as follows :

A cubit=14 *Tāsus* (the length made by the joint breadth of the middle finger and that next to it).

3 cubits and 5 fists= 1 *Kathi* (*i.e.* 1 pole).

5 cubits and 5 fists=82 *Tāsus.*

20 Poles × 20 poles = One *Bigha.*

120 *Bighas*=One *Cavar.*

According to this calculation, one fist=$2\frac{1}{2}$ *Tāsus*, and one acre is roughly equal to $1\frac{1}{3}$ *bighas*. Another account is given in the Annual Proceedings of the *Bharat Itihasa Samsodhak Mandal* for the S'aka year 1835 (1913 A.D.) (p. 324).

5 cubits and 5 fists=82 *Tāsus.*

22 poles × 22 poles (the pole being kept flat on the ground)=1 *Bigha.*

24 poles × 24 poles (the pole being kept in the hand while measuring)=1 *Bigha.*

In this case, the dimension of a *bigha* is greater than that given by Sabhasad. It is difficult to say why there came to be given different measures in the land settlement of Anjanwell, the account of which was prepared in the year 1824 A.D. Probably, that area might have had a measurement different from that of the plateau area. Sabhasad was better expected to know the land measures, for he was a subedar during S'ivāji's regime and served under him. This is what is generally given in the general description : 20 poles made one *pānd* (पांड) and 20 *pānds* made one *bigha.*

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* Continued from Vol. XLIV.Page98.

Another measure referred to in some documents is *nitan* (नितन). For example, reference may be made to document No. 731, dated seventh November 1624, of *S'io Caritra Sāhitya*, Part IV. Here one *cavar* has been shown to be equal to 13 *nitans* 3 *bighas*. So, one *nitan* comes to be equal to 9 *bighas*.

Yet another kind of land measure which is mentioned in a number of documents is *takā* (टका) and *rukā* (रुका). In document No. 15 (p. 38) of Marāṭhi Daftar, Rumal III (Part III), it is mentioned that 1½ *takās* [25] = 1 *takā* and 24 *rukās*. So, 1 *takā* = 48 *rukās*. From Document 67 of Sh. Ch.S., Part VII (p.109), we find that 1 *takā* =4 *Cavars*, 1 *Cavar* = 12 *Rukās*, 1 *Rukā* = 10 *bighas*. From Document 99 of Sh. Ch. S. II also we find that 1 *Takā* = 48 *Rukas* (see also Sh.Ch.S.VII.P.109). The measures, when made with the bamboo pole, have been mentioned as (गजशरायणी) or (गजइलाही) *S'arāyṇi* measure or *Ilāhi* measure. The latter was the one which was introduced by Rājā Todarmal, Akbar's Minister who was responsible for the land settlement in the Moghul empire and indicates the placing of the stick flat on the ground. The former indicated the direction of the pole in the way of a darted arrow, *i.e.* the distant end touching the ground with the nearer end in the hand, *i.e.* somewhat raised up. It is clear that the length of the pole in the two cannot be the same.

Besides the above ways of measuring land, there were two more, one by the rope and the other by the chain. *Dori* (rope) was equal to one *cavar* (Rājwade's Vol. XV. pp. 412 and 414). The chain measure was introduced in the Deccan during the time of Auranagazeb and has been referred to by the word "*Zanzir*". The rope method of measurement did obtain in the time of Malik Ambar, but it is manifest that it could not be as reliable as the pole; for a rope is subject to contraction and expansion and breakages; but, as a rope could be sufficiently long, it saved time in surveying.

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25. *Takā* and *Rukā* were monetary measures also, and the numerical relationship between them was the same. 6 Rukās either in money or in land made one *Sasgani* (or *Sani*) (See Sh. Ch. S. II. 128 and Sh. Ch. S. IX. P. 5 and Sh. Ch. S. VII. p. 113).

CESSES, TOLLS, DUTIES AND TAX

The names of the cesses, tolls, duties and tax levied in Maharāṣṭra in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and therefore by the Government of Malik Ambar are very many. Q. B. I. S. M. Vol. II. (Nos. 1-4), for the S'āka year 1843 (1921-1922 A.D.), mentions in Document I, *Mahsool* (महसूल), *Nakhtayati* (नख्तयति), *Vethi-Begari* (वेटी बेगारी), *Farmasi* (फर्मासी) and *Paiposi* (पायपोसी).

Sh. Ch. S. I (p. 30) mentions sales and purchase tax on horses, oxen, she-buffaloes and grain. A very comprehensive list is to be found in Sh. Ch. S. IX. (Q. B. I. S. M. Vol. XXIV. No. 4).

Pati Paiposi (पटी पायपोसी) Documents 9 and 12.
Rakh Nuksanpati (राख नुकसानपटी) Document 9.
Sadilwar pati (सादिलवार पटी) Document 9.
Nazirpati (नाज़िरपटी) Documents 9 and 19.
Deshmukhpati (देशमुखपटी) Document 9.
Gadccavani (गडछावनी) Documents 19, 36 and 11.
Sarnazirpati (सरनाज़िरपटी) Document 19.
Cloth Duty (कपडावर जकात) Document 40.
Bokhartaka (बोखारटका) Documents 11, 19 and 36.
Mirasdarpati (मिरासदारपटी) Document 43.
Kapurpaik (कापुरपाइक) Document 36.
Sarafpati (सराफपटी) Document 19.
Varhadtaka (वरहाडटका) Documents 12, 19 and 51.
Niputrika (निपुत्रिक) Document 21.
Magpati (मगपटी) Document 11.
Ghartaka (घरटका) Document 69.
Meeṭhtaka (मीठटका) Document 69.
Gairmahsool (गैरमहसूल) Document 21.
Pan-taka (पणटका) Document 22.
Kotwali (कोतवाली) Document 21.
Nafar-taka (नफरटका) Document 21.
Gulge-mhashi (गुल्गे म्हषी) Document 19.

Besides the above, there were some more cesses and duties, which are to be gleaned out from other documents. They have

been classified, so far as the present available documents could allow us to do so.

Pati Payaposhī (पटी पायपोसी) (Sh.Ch.S.IX,9,16,36)—a cess levied in kind from the Ghee-makers.

Raknuksanpatī (राखनुकसानपटी) (Sh.Ch.S.IX.9)—a depreciation cess.

Sadilvarpatī (सादिलवारपटी) (Sh. Ch. S. IX. 9, 43) a cess for social functions. (Rājya Vyavaharkosh. S'hiv-caritra Pradip.p.171).

Nazirpatī (नाज़िरपटी) (Sh. Ch. S. IX, 9) a cess realised to meet the expenses of the office of the Nazir.

Des'mukhpati (दशमुखपटी) (Sh. Ch. S. IX, 9) a cess, especially realised by the Dēs'mukhs, probably, for festive occasions.

Mirāsdārpatī (मिरासदारपटी) (Sh. Ch. S. IX, 43)—a cess realised from the Mirāsdārs on special occasions.

Cloth duty(कापड जकात) (Sh. Ch. S. IX. 43).

Sarnazirpati(सरनाज़िर पटी) (Sh. Ch. S. IX. 36) a cess realised to meet the office of the Nazir (of Nazirpati).

Gadcavanī (गडचावनी) (Sh. Ch. S. IX. 11, 19, 36) a cess realised for the repairs of fortifications.

Bekhartakā (बोखराटका) (Sh. Ch. S. IX. 11, 19, 36) literally, a cess on head loads; perhaps, it signifies an octroi duty.

Kapurpaik (कापुरपाइका) (Sh. Ch. S. IX. 36) cannot be identified.

Sarāfpatī (सराफपटी) (Sh. Ch. S. IX. 19) a cess levied on bankers and dealers in gold and silver.

Varādtakā (वराड टका) (Sh. Ch. S. IX. 12, 19, 51) a cess levied on marriage parties.

Niputrika (निपुत्रिक) (Sh. Ch. S. IX. 21) succession tax levied on those who succeeded to the property of a person leaving no son behind him.

Mag-Jakat (माग जकात) (Sh. Ch. S. IX. 11) a cess levied on weavers.

Ghartakā (घरटका) (Sh. Ch. S. IX. 69) a house-tax realised from shop-houses.

Meeṭhtakā (मीठ टका) (Sh. Ch. S. IX. 99)—Salt-tax.

Kotwali (कोतवाली) (Sh. Ch. S. IX. 21) a cess levied on the people for the expenses of the office of a police officer.

Gair Mahasul (गैर महसूल) (Sh. Ch. S. IX. 21) Extra cess.

Vantakā (वनटका) (Sh. Ch. S. IX. 58)— a cess on forest produce.

Nafartakā (नफरटका) (Sh. Ch. S. IX. 21). This seems to be a cess realised for payment of servants.

Milch Buffalo tax (खुलगी म्हशीवर जकात) (Sh. Ch. S. IX. 19).

Duty on the sale of corn (Sh. Ch. S. IX. 19).

Karuk (कारुक) (Sh. Ch. S. IX, p. 19). This seems to be a tax realised from artisans.

Singautī (सिंगौटी) (Sh. Ch. S. IX. p. 19) cess on the sale of cattle.

Overland transit duty (खुष्की मार्गावर जकात) (Sh. Ch.S. VII. 1008. Sh. Ch. S. IX. 40).

Mohimpatī (मोहिमपटी) (Sh. Ch. S. III. 527) a cess levied to meet the expenses of an expedition.

Inampatī (इनामपटी) (Sh. Ch. S. II. 30) a cess levied to bestow a grant on some one.

Duhukpatī (दुहुकपटी) (Raj. XX. 174). This seems to be a milk cess.

Kabulātipati (कबुलाती पटी) (Sh. Ch. S. II. 152) a cess levied on an agreement made between two persons.

Jangpatī (जंगपटी) (Sh. Ch. S. III. 527) same as *Mohimpati*.*

Tējīpati (तेजीपटी) (Sh. Ch. S. III. 527) seems to be a cess on the rise of prices of commodities.

There are some cesses and duties that seem to be limited to towns or villages.

Urban Cesses and Duties

Octroi duties (जकात) (Sh. Ch. S. IX. 40 and Mawjea Parasnis : Sanad 4 letters, p. 15).

* Probably a tax levied to meet the expenses of war.—**Ed**.

Thalmod (थलमोड) or (निकालु) (Export duty) (Sh. Ch. S. VIII. 7).

Thal-Bharit (थल भरीत) or (पैसालु) (Import duty) (Sh. Ch. S. VIII. 7).

Bat-Ccapai (बाट छपाई) a cess for stamping weights with a view to assure their correctness.

Khot-Jakat (खोत जकात) a cess on *vatandars* of the Konkan.

Mejwani (मेजवानी) Dinner tax. (see S. N. Sen Administrative system of the Marāṭhās)

Kolipati (कोलीपटी) B. I. S. M. (वार्षिक इतिवृत 1835) a cess levied on fishermen.

Jakati Cauthare (जकाती चौथरे) (Sh. Ch. S. II. 197) a cess levied on those shop-keepers who used raised platforms.

Nakhtayatī pati (नख्तयाती पटी) (Sh. Ch. S. II. 148) a cess for permission to mint coins.

Bhēti (भेटी) (Sh. Ch. S. II. 148) presents given to officers or king. Reference for them can be especially made to Sh. Ch. S, II, 151, 207, 213, 220, 230, 245, 304 and 316.

Sinhastapatī (सिंहस्तपटी) (Sh. Ch. S. II. 289) A pilgrim tax levied at Nāsik in the (सिंहस्त) year.

There were other duties that were more generally confined to villages; these are

Selbail (सेलबैल) (Sh. Ch. S. II-170)— a duty on transport of cattle.

Bel-kati (बेलकटी) (Sh. Ch. S. III. p. 144.162) a tax levied at the commencement of the harvest.

Padewari (पाडेवारी) (Marāṭhi Dafter I, p. 38; Sh. Ch. S. I, 31) a cess realised for the payment of the services of a hereditary watchman of a village, generally, '*Mahar*' by caste.

Kharchpatī (खर्चपटी) (Sh. Ch. S. III. pp. 139,146) a cess realised from the villagers to meet the expenses of officers on their visit to a village.

Thunmasul (ठूनमसूल) cannot be identified.

Alheran (अल्हेरान) a cess for grazing animals in a meadow.

Kathavala (कठवला) a cess realised from those who prepared mats out of coconut fibres.

Bambar-Bhet (बंबरभेट) perhaps, a cess to meet the expenses of the officer on tour.

Vanpati (वनपटी) a cess on forest produce.

Sundar-Thakur (सुंदरठाकुर) a cess realised for the expenses of a temple.

Bah-Takal—cannot be identified.

Sh. Ch. S. II. 304, Sh, Ch. S. III. p.151.

Tarafpatī (तारफपटी) (Sh. Ch. S. III. 549.) a cess levied to meet the expenses of the office of a *Taraf.*

Sardēs'mukhipatī (सरदेशमुखीपटी) or *Sarnadgauda* (सरनड्गौडा) (Sh. Ch. S. III. 549.)

Sādilwārpatī (सादिलवारपटी) (see *supra*)

Kanupati (कानुपटी) (Sh. Ch. S. IX. 46) a cess to meet the expenses of officers deputed to conduct land revenue survey.

Ajajeetpatī (अजाजीतपटी) (Sh. Ch. S. IX, 46) a cess for appointment of a '*Naik*' by an officer.

Bhokarpati (भोकारपटी) (Sh. Ch. S. III. 620,621) a cess on Bhokar fruits.

Ulfepati (उल्फेपटी) (Sh. Ch. S. III. 624) a cess for feeding an officer on tour, usually in kind.

Silottari (सिलोत्तरी) (Sh. Ch. S. IX. p. 38) a cess taken by a farmer from the leasee. In origin, it seems to be a share in the remains of grain ears left in the field after harvesting generally collected by people in general. The practice of collecting remains of gram ears obtained in ancient times.

There were some cesses and duties that were common to both towns and villages ; some of these are

Mohatarfa (मोहतर्फा)
Jakat-Vikri (जकत विक्री) sale duty
Ccap-pati (duty for stamping cloth)
Farmāyas'ī (फर्मायशी)
Humayunpatī (हुमायूनपटी) and others.

The list may seem to be alarmingly big but in this connection some points have to be remembered. Firstly, the documents show convincingly that all the cesses and duties did not obtain everywhere. Some obtained in some places, while others obtained in other places. Secondly their rates also varied from place to place. Thirdly, the meanings of all are not clear ; but evidently many of them were of the local type and were the sources of income of the *vatandars*. Some of them, though central, were partly or wholly assigned to the *vatandars* as sources of their maintenance. Fourthly, they were generally very low, as has been shown in the course of the mention of the sources of income of the *vatandars*. Had the taxes, cesses, duties and tolls been of an oppressive type, the country could not have prospered and many contemporaries would not have expressed their satisfaction at the administration of Malik Ambar.

(Concluded)

VRATA IN THE RGVEDA *

BY DR. V. M. APTE, M.A. Ph.D.(Cantab.)

The Derivation of Vratá

IN the first part I have shown that when Dr. Kane doubts the meaning of 'proceed' given to √ *Vṛt* by Whitney and denies that the root *Vṛt* when occurring by itself in the Ṛgveda means 'to turn round, to move on' and insists that the root *Vṛt* by itself means simply 'to be, to remain, to abide' and nothing else, he not only stands singularly alone in this view but is also up against the unchallengable evidence of the science of linguistics, the Sanskrit Dictionaries authoritative for the Vedic and the post-Vedic periods, Ṛgvedic usages, the Sāyaṇa bhāṣya on the Ṛgveda and the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali.. As I propose, in this second part, to strengthen with new arguments my thesis regarding the derivation of *vrata'* from √ *Vṛt*, propounded in my monograph entitled "All about *vrata'* in the Ṛgveda," [18] a brief résumé of the general argument therein would be helpful here.

If the word *vrata'* has, in the Ṛgveda, the meaning 'vow or ordinance' (to be followed by human worshippers)—a meaning which alone became the dominant meaning in post-Ṛgvedic (and especially in post-Vedic) literature, the word has also in the Ṛgveda (I have shown) several other inter-related meanings, which represent earlier links in the semasiological chain culminating in that meaning and these earlier meanings suggest a derivation from *vṛt*, 'to turn,' rather from *vṛ*, in any one of its conjugational classes having the senses 'to choose', 'to cover', 'to guard' etc. The Ṛgveda, besides, speaks of *vratás* followed by the gods, far more often, than of those followed by the devotees. Two distinct phases of meaning are, therefore, to be distinguished in the Ṛgveda, which (for the sake of convenience only) I have named as 'the divine

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* Continued from Volume XLVI. Page 62.

18. Published in Vol. III. *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute*, Poona.

phase 'and' the human phase'. These phases are not necessarily separated in time but the 'divine phase' of meanings is in all probability the earlier one, being the most predominant in the Ṛgveda. I have then formulated the following series of meanings and documented each one of them with illustrative passages. (1) Turning round, movement, passage, flowing or running (of rivers or *Parjanya*); (2) (Fixed) passage, (beaten) track, (accustomed) activity or behaviour; (3) Periodical movement or appearances of the *devas*, their prescribed behaviour; (4) Sphere of activity or movement, (so) realm or dominion; (5) As the movements of the *devas* or luminaries represents the triumph (of light over darkness) triumphant movement, (victorious) feat, exploit, deed or performance. This is, what I call, the divine phase of meanings. The human phase of meanings is the following; (1) Physical activity, (expected) practice, profession or vocation (*Cf.* IX. 112.1); (2) Duties of man in the social, religious or ritual sphere; and (3) Law, ordinance or rules of conduct (laid down by a divinity), vow etc.

Even from the bare outline of my proposition given above, it should be obvious that Dr. Kane simply misrepresents me when he says: " Prof. Apte ridicules those who hold that *Vratá* has the meaning of 'law or ordinance'.[19] My remarks on pages 439 and and 432 of my monograph (to which he refers) pertain specifically and strictly to the inapplicability of this meaning to the passages IX.53.2 and VIII.32.28 under discussion only and not to all passages and cannot in fairness be construed as 'ridicule'. Unfortunately Dr. Kane is obsessed, throughout in his cricitism, with the erroneous notion that I reject this meaning wholly for the word *Vratá*.

When a decade and more ago, I presented Ṛgvedic evidence in support of a derivation of *Vratá* which was a departure from the established view, I did anticipate a certain scepticism and honest difference of opinion on the part of scholars. Prof. Dr. S Varma (now in the Ministry of Education)—one of the

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19. *JBBRAS*: Vol. XXIX. Part 1.1954.p.8.*ll*.25-26.

greatest living authorities on Linguistics wrote to me from Jammu, immediately after the publication of my article on *Vratá* as follows: " After reading your article, which has deeply impressed me by the acuteness and profundity of its observations, my mind was certainly shaken from the habituated Indo-European etymology gathered from Walde-Pokorny. Certainly *vratá* can proceed from *vṛt*, 'to move, behave' like *ācāra*. But I am not yet in a position to say that I accept your etymology. The great service that your paper has done is that it has made the etymolgy of *vratá* from **u̯er-*, ' to speak ' an open question again." This is magnanimous appreciation and in a sense partial support even in the absence of agreement. Complete support for my derivation has recently come from Dr. Kshitish Chandra Chatterji, a Philologist and 'one of our most erudite authorities on the technical and other niceties of Sanskrit Grammar,' as mentioned already, in these pages. (QJMS.Vol.XLVI.p.62).

The Grammatical Argument

If we derive *vrata'* from *vṛ*, we are compelled to recognise in it, the primary nominal derivative suffix *ta'*. Here the difficulties are: (i) With the accent on the suffix *tá*, the form *vra-* of the radical syllable becomes anomalous.[20] We should have *vṛ-(ta')* as we have *ṛ-ta'* and *ghṛ-tá* from the roots *ṛ* and *ghṛ* respectively. (ii) If the alternative of a strong and accented radical syllable were adopted, as in *ga'r-ta* and *már-ta*, then the accent goes wrong and the form of the radical syllable (being *va'r-* instead of *vrá-*) is not right either. Dr. Kane is wrong in citing *karta* to support the derivation from *vṛ* and thus implying that it comes from the root *kṛ*.[21] *Karta'* comes from the root *kṛt* with the suffix *a*. He commits the same mistake when he cites *vrāḥ* and *vavra*[22] which are both derived from *vṛ* with the suffix *a*, as supporting instances to explain a primary nominal derivation with the suffix *ta*. Now the two difficulties mentioned above do not mar the derivation of *vrata'* from *vṛt* with the suffix *a*. In the first place, the accent on the second syllable

20. Macdonell: *Vedic Grammar*. p. 121. foot-note 2.
21. *JBBRAS*: *Op. Cit.*p.6.*l*.34.
22. *Ibid* ; p.6,*l*.37 to p,7.*l*.3.

of *vratá* becomes perfectly regular. Secondly, the unusual form *vra-ta'* (instead of *var-ta'*) gets support (as Whitney points out) from two exactly parallel formations with the same suffix *a*. (1) There is *vra-ja'* from *vṛj*. Dr. Kane is wrong when he says that this derivation is uncertain and is the individual view of Whitney.[23] It is a widely accepted derivation and perfectly sound grammatically.[24] Another example is *trada'* from *tṛd* occurring in ṚV-VIII.45.28ᵇ: *tradáṁ vā'jasya gómataḥ*. One fails to understand Dr. Kane's argument that if *tradá* is derived from *tṛd* (to cleave), it can hardly apply to Indra.[25] A similar verb; *dṛ* ('to cleave or pierce') denoting the violent action that wins booty in battle is used in connection with Indra and *Vā'ja* in II.12.15ᵇ: *Vā'jaṁ da'rdarṣi* ...... and elsewhere as in our passage. Geldner translates *trada'* as applying to Indra.

THE LINGUISTIC ARGUMENT

I will now explain how the derivation from *vṛt* stands *vis-a-vis* the Indo-European bases[26] recorded in the '*Vergleichendes Wörter-buch der Indo-Germanischen Sprachen*' of Walde and Pokorny. The following is the relevant extract from it:

5. **u̯er-* "*drehen* (to turn, revolve), *biegen* (to bend)" [with formantia in -g-; -gh-; -t- (to which belongs the Sanskrit *vartate*) -b-, -bh-. etc.].

6. **u̯er* - "*ergreifen, nehmen, finden,*" with by-forms.

7. **u̯er* - "*sagen, sprechen*" ('to speak') with by-forms **ü̯ere-*, **u̯erē* (-i: **u̯erī*). It is here that Walde and Pokorny place Sanskrit *vrata'm* and Avestan *urvata*.

I place the following considerations before linguisticians. The form * *u̯ere-* (under 7) reveals itself on examination to be an extention of **u̯er-*, with an *-e-*. There is nothing to prevent us from positing such an extension either for No. 5 or for No. 6, if a

23. *JBBRAS*: p.6.*ll*.32-33.

24. Macdonell: *Op. Cit.*p.121.foot-note 2.

25. *JBBRAS*: *Op.Cit.*p.6, foot-note 7.

26. This explanation is addressed to philologists like Prof. Dr. S. Varma. Dr. Kane does not raise this linguistic issue anywhere in his criticism.

historical review of definitions given in old Indo-Āryan (or old Iranian) shows that the primary sense is connected with either No. 5 or No. 6 or No. 7. Since such a connection has been established by me by a review of Ṛgvedic (Old Indo-Āryan) evidence and since this definition in Old Indo-Āryan is older (I sumbit) than the one arrived at by comparison with cognate Slavonic or Greek forms, there is nothing inherently wrong in assuming Sanskri *vrata'm* or Avestan *urvata*, as derived from an extended * *u̯er-e-* < * 5 *u̯er-* '*drehen*' etc. with which Sanskrit *vartate* is connected through * *u̯er-t-*.[27]

THE MYTHOLOGICAL ARGUMENT

The majority of Ṛgvedic deities are connected with light, the bringing on or restoration of light after dispelling darkness. As Macdonell says: "That the conception of higher gods whose nature was connected with light (*div-* 'to shine') and heaven (*div*) had already been arrived at, in the Indo-European period is shown by the common name *devios*. (Sanskrit *deva-s*, Lithuanian *deva-s*, Latin *deus*) god." [28] It is not correct to say (as Dr. Kane has done) [29] that "the Ṛgvedic people had reached a stage far beyond simply wondering at the tracks or routes of the luminaries." The physical basis of the Sun, the dawn, the fire, *Parjanya* (the rain god) *Vāyu-vāta* (the wind-god), the Earth and the Mighty Rivers was ever-present to the eyes, ears and minds of the Ṛgvedic poets who were never tired of admiring them, although they had reached a high stage of intellectual, literary and cultural development. To quote Macdonell again: "Indefiniteness of outline and lack of individuality characterize the Vedic conception of the gods. This is mainly due to the fact that they are nearer to the physical phenomena which they represent than the gods of any other Indo-European people." [30] When, therefore, in an overwhelmingly large number of passages, the Ṛgvedic poets speak of

27. In an informing discussion I had with him, Dr. Katre, Director (and Professor of Indo-European Linguistics) of the Deccan College Research Institute, agreed with me that my suggestion in this paragraph was worthy of serious consideration by Linguisticians.

28. Macdonell: *Vedic Mythology*.p.8.

29. *JBBRAS*: *Op. Cit.*p.4.*ll*.24 to 26.

30. Macdonell: *Vedic Mythology*. p. 15.

vratás of the gods (*daivyā*), protected by Varuṇa, Agni, etc. or followed by the *devas* themselves it is a fair assumption (in my view) that they refer primarily to *the self-imposed routines* of the *devas* ('luminaries'), to the laws of their own behaviour in the heavens, or to their own periodical and regular appearances, movements or paths and only *secondarily* to the synchronous religious activities and duties of the human worshippers who *had* co-ordinated the sacrificial calendar to the daily, monthly and annual movements of the luminaries in the sky. This earlier sense of *vrata'* in the Ṛgveda is better explained (in my view) by its etymological connection with a verb of motion like *vṛt*.

THE LITERATY EVIDENCE

Paucity of space compels me to present here the barest minimum of Ṛgvedic passages in support of my derivation. Very convincing (in my view) is the following passage:

I,183.3[ab] : *ā' tiṣṭhatam suvṛ'tam yo' ra'tho vām*
a'nu vratā'ni va'rtate haviṣmān |

"Mount up to the lightly rolling one (*survṛ'tam*) (to that) car of yours, laden with oblations, which moves (*va'rtate*) after the *vratás*." It is as certain as it could be, that *vratā'ni* here is the cognate object of the verb *va'rtate* and must, therefore, be allied to it etymologically. The deliberate word-play on the root *vṛt* and its derivatives like *survṛ'taṃ* in the first *pāda* and *varti'ḥ* in the fourth *pāda* leads to the irresistible conclusion that the Ṛgvedic poet looked upon *vratáni* in the second *pāda* also as a similar derivative from the same root.

X.114.4[ab] : *indro mahnā' mahato' arṇava'sya vratā'minad*
(a'ṅgirobhirgṛṇāna'ḥ) |
X.67.12[ab] : *indro mahnā' mahato' arṇava'sya vi mūrdhā'-*
nam abhinad arbuda'sya |

X.114.4[ab] : "Indra, with his might broke down the *vrata's* of the mighty *arṇava......*"

X.67.12[ab] : "Indra, with his might, broke down the head of the mighty *arṇava*, the Arbuda." These two stanzas with an

identical first *pāda*, throw light on the meaning of the *vratás*, which must be something concrete and tangible like the head of the mighty *arṇava*, the Arbuda and could be broken down in a physical sense by Indra. Arbuda is referred to as *Ahi* in the third *pāda* of X.67.12 and being mentioned elsewhere with *vṛtra* (the *Ahi*), is cognate in nature to the latter who blocks up the Sindhus by laying down his body athwart the river-currents. One thing is certain in any case. *Vratás* in this passage (X.114.4^b) cannot mean anything abstract like 'vows or holy ordinances', belonging as they do to the sea-monster. The possible meanings of *vrata'* here are 'the (snaky) physical movements or extensions (of the sea-monster Arbuda)' or (if such a meaning is too concrete to be acceptable), 'the (hostile) activities, deeds or exploits', *i.e.* something like the inimical *vartanāni* (behaviour or actions) of the monster. In either case, my scheme of definitions holds good and the derivation from *vṛt* is suggested.

III.3.5^a: *candra'm agním candra'rathan ha'ri-vratam*

"(The gods have established in great beauty) Agni, the bright, whose chariot is bright and whose *vrata's* are reddish brown (or tawny or golden or yellow)." *Vrata'* here must mean something concrete that has colour, like the trail or path of Agni. The *ha'ri-vrata* Agni simply cannot signify anything but Agni who blazes the tawny trail; because the *pāda* describes nothing else but colours and forms—the brilliance of Agni, the brilliance of his car and his golden or tawny *vratás*. Non-recognition of the fact that, at least in passages of this type, *vrata'* cannot mean anything abstract, like 'vow' or 'rule' or 'law' has driven even Oldenberg to render the compound [31] as 'whose every law is golden' or as 'whose rules are yellow.' Geldner renders the epithet here as 'whose work is golden' and 'work' is not far from my meaning of *vrata'* as 'sphere of activity' or 'path.'

VIII.42.1: *a'stabhnād dyā'm a'suro vis'va'vedā, a'mimīta varimā'ṇam pṛthivyā'ḥ* |
ā'sīdad vis'vā bhúvanāni samrā'd, vis'vé'ttāni va'ruṇasya vratā'ni ||

31. *SBE*: Vol. XLVI. pp. 232-234.

"The all-knowing Asura has propped up the heavens (and) measured out the extent of the earth ; the sovereign ruler has taken possession of all the worlds"—all these, verily, are the *vratás* of Varuṇa. Since the passage actually identifies or defines the *vratás* here as 'the cosmic feats, deeds or activities,' described in the first three *pādas*, there is no escape here from the meaning of *vrata'* as 'activity, deed, feat or exploit,'—a meaning like that of *vartana* which accords well only with the derivation of the word from the root *vṛt*.

When V.46.47. invokes the two classes of the consorts of the gods (*dēvā'nām pa'tnīḥ*) described as, (i) "goddesses who belong to the earth (*yā'ḥ-pā'rthivāsaḥ*) and as (ii) those who abide in the *vrata'* of the waters" (*yā', apā'm a'pi vrate'*), *vrata'* can only mean 'the area, sphere, dominion or realm' of the waters and Max Müller actually renders it as 'the realm or pale (of the waters).'[32] This is a meaning included in my scheme of definitions and shown to have naturally evolved from the root-meaning of *vṛt* in a semantic series.

The numerous '*vrata'-rakṣaṇa*' passages in the Ṛgveda strikingly fore-shadow the *yajña-rakṣaṇa* motif of many a later tale. When the Ṛgveda tells us that *vratás* could be protected only by enlisting the *māyā* ('magic power') of the Asura (V.63.7[b]) or by the use of strength (I.62.10[b]), that a guardian of the *vratás* must have 'the qualification of being undeceivable' (IV.53.4[ab] ; VIII. 67.13[bc]) and that the *vratás* of Agni (VI.7.5) and of Sōma (IX. 53.3) are something 'not to be dared or challenged' (with impunity), we realize that *vrata'* cannot mean something innocent and abstract like 'vow' in every passage. In all the above passages, a meaning like 'sphere, dominion' or 'paths of the luminaries', naturally comes to our mind and when VII.32.28 says that Indra attends to the *vratás* in the exhilaration of the Soma, it becomes clear that the guarding of the routes of the heavenly lights called for a fund of energy in the sentinel.

32. *SBE* : Vol. XXXII. pp. 236 and 384. On p. 384, Max Müller, while discussing Bergaigne's view says that in the case of *vratá*, a concrete meaning like "realm or pale" must have preceded the abstract meaning of 'law'. This is exactly my own contention.

Finally, one must concede that there is much force in Whitney's contention [33] that the general character of the verbs used along with a noun has a legitimate and important value as pointing to its fundamental sense, that the verbs which take *vrata'* as object, namely, *i*, *anu-i*, *anu-car*, *anu-gā*, *anu-vṛt*, *sac*, etc. are verbs of motion and that they thus decidedly favour its interpretation as 'a word of motion.' Dr. Kane's objection that these verbs because of the *upasargas* like *anu* have ceased to be verbs of motion is untenable and astonishing.

(To be concluded)

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33. *JAOS* : Vol. XI.p.ccxxxi.
34. *JBBRAS* : *Op.Cit.*p.7.*ll.*13-26.

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NYAYA BHASKARA OF ANANTARYA *

TRANSLATED BY M. B. NARASIMHA IYENGAR, M.Sc.

IT should not be argued thus: That which is set aside or discarded by cognition is only the knowledge of the ultimate category considered with all its qualifications, through the two relationships, namely, that it does not subsist at the moment subsequent to the production of its seat or substratum and that it subsists at the moment when it is produced. Hence it is not at all in accordance (with the settled opinion); because of the introduction of the second relationship. Therefore the fallacy of *arthānthara* does not arise by considering the untruth. If it were so, the fallacy of *bādha* (or annulment) arises. The moment subsequent to the knowledge of the *Brahman*, with all qualifications is not known to have an existence in the phenomenal world through the two relationships, namely, it subsists at the moment of its production and it does not subsist at the moment subsequent to the production of its seat or substratum.

It should not be argued that the fallacy of *bādha* (or annulment) does not arise; because the major term is taken to be the knowledge of the ultimate category with all its qualifications through the two relationships, namely, that it subsists at the moment of the production of its seat or substratum and that its negation whose counter-entity subsists in itself through the two relationships, namely, it subsists at the moment and also at a moment subsequent to the production of its seat or substratum. As the moment subsequent to the knowledge of the *Brahman* has not been established, it is possible to prove that the negation whose counter-entity subsists in itself through the two relationships stated above has as its counter-entity a different substratum. If it were so, the fallacy of *Siddhasādhana* (*i.e.* proving the proved) arises in pot etc. by considering the knowledge of the ultimate category that subsists at the moment of the production of the seat or substratum of the destruction of the pot.

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* Continued from Vol. XLVI. Page 68.

It should not be argued that the major term has been accepted to be the knowledge of the ultimate category with all its qualifications, through the two relationships, namely, that it subsists at the moment of the production of its seat or substratum and that its negation has its counter-entity subsisting in itself through the relationship, namely, the object with all its qualifications subsists at the moment subsequent to the moment when its seat or substratum is produced. Thus the fallacy of *siddhasādhana* (*i.e.* proving the proved) does not arise. The object with all its qualifications has been apprehended through the two relationships, namely, that it is identical with itself and that it has an existence similar to that of itself. The ignorance, etc. that are related to the object, which has become identical with itself and which has an existence similar to that of itself, subsist till the attainment of *mōkṣa* (or final beatitude). The knowledge of the ultimate category that subsists at the moment of the production of the seat or substratum of the destruction of the pot, is not known to exist. Thus the moment subsequent to the knowledge of the *Brahman* has not been established. The knowledge of the ultimate category with all its qualifications subsists in the *Brahman* through the two relationships stated above. Yet it is not considered unreal. Likewise the phenomenal world will be considered to be real. Thus it is not possible to get over the fallacy of *arthānthara*. Suppose the meaning of the root *Nas* (*i.e.* to destroy) is taken to be the moment will all its qualificatious through the two relationships, namely, it subsists in itself and the negation whose counter-entity subsists in itself through the relationship, namely, it subsists at a moment subsequent to its production, then all that is perceivable becomes destroyed subsequent to the knowledge of the *Brahman*. Similarly the expression current in the universe will be that the *Brahman* becomes destroyed.

It should not be argued that there is no scope for the two mistakes stated above to arise because the pure consciousness is not accepted to be related to time. If *Brahman* is considered to be related to time, then the *Brahman* will assume the form of the absolutely non-existent and the scriptural text, namely, 'This *sat*

alone was in the beginning, Oh! Brahman' will become unauthoritative.

It is stated that the scriptural text, namely, 'The *sat* (or being) alone etc.' refer to the *Brahman* limited by conditions and it does not refer to the (pure) *Brahman* because that which is devoid of attributes is not proved to possess a substratum and also of its (*i.e.* of that devoid of attributes) seat or substratum has been negated upon by the scriptural text, namely, 'its greatness.' It is not right to say that the *Brahman* assumes the form of the absolutely non-existent, when it is connected with time. The phenomenal world happen to last for a moment as its relation with every moment is destroyed when it comes in contact with the subsequent moment and the *ākāṣa* and the Lord will assume the form of the non-eternal (substances). In the school of the *Naiyāyikas*, the eternal (substance) will assume the form of *asat*, as it does not subsist in the Lord. Thus the fallacy of *ātmāsraya* (*i.e.* the want of a substratum) arises. It is not possible that the Lord should subsist in the Lord (*i.e.* the Lord should assume the form of the Lord). Suppose the Lord assumes the form of *asat* (or non-being) then it is not possible that the phenomenal world that is related to him should assume the form of *sat* and the conclusion arrived at will be that of the *sūnya vādins*.

Because (it is stated) that the pure *Brahman* is not related to time, is it due to want of proof or is it due to its being sublated upon (as false)? It is not the first, as the scriptural text, namely, 'The *sat* alone etc.' proves that the *Brahman* is not related to time. Because also it is grand to state that the scriptural text, namely, 'without the second' refers to a pure *Brahman*. The author of *Vivaraṇa* and others have accepted that the attributes that are superimposed on the pure *Brahman* will become the object of knowledge. When the negation subsisting in a different substratum has been accepted, then (the object) of the absolutely real nature (will become proved). That which is devoid of attributes will become related to time, as it does not possess any peculiar characteristics or as it does not assume the form of the particular and the common characteristics through the two

relationships, namely, that it subsists in itself and that it pervades a sphere similar to itself.

It is not the second. The scriptual text, namely, 'Its greatness' does not include (within its orbit) an existence that is produced by another, as in the case of the pot, etc. Its (*i.e.* of the Pure *Brahman*) connection with time has been accepted. The scriptuaral text, namely, 'not connected with time, etc.' will not become contradicted. *Sat* has been accepted to pervade the (same) sphere as that which is connected with time. But it has not been accepted to have any connection with time. Thus the phenomenal world has not been accepted to last for a moment. The school of the *Naiyāyikas* has accepted time as an eternal (substance). Therefore, the author of *Didhiti* has accepted the school, namely, 'the eternal substances do not subsist in the Lord.' When he has stated that (these eternal substances) are related to time, he has given a different definition of *vyāpti* (or invariable concomitance) in the section on *siddhānta lakṣaṇa* thus :—The counter-entity of the most general form of the negation that subsists in the substratum of the middle term and that does not subsist in the substratum of the counter-entity, subsists in a similar substratum through that relationship and through those attributes with which the negation has been connected. Otherwise they (*i.e.* the attributes and the relationship) do not assume the form of the cause that is related to that which subsists in time. It is not right to say that the fallacy of *ātmāsraya* (*i.e.* want of a substratum) arises, as the Lord does not subsist in himself (*i.e.* He does not assume the form of *sat*). It is possible that time subsists in time itself (*i.e.* time exists always) as there is the mental perception, namely, 'Time exists always' by following closely the statement that is sought to be proved, namely, 'The pot does not exist (as an entity) where there is the negation of the pot.'

Suppose it is stated thus : 'We have not accepted destruction in our (*i.e. vis'iṣṭādvaita*) demonstrated conclusion as in the case of the *Naiyāyikas*.' It is not so. If it were so, the phenomenal universe subsists till the apprehension of the knowledge of the ultimate category. In your school (*advaita*) it has so happened that no reply is given to the question, namely 'where did the

phenomenal world go subsequent to the knowledge of ultimate category ? '

Suppose it is argued thus : What reply have the *Naiyāyikas* who have accepted destruction, given to the question, namely, 'where did pain go subsequent to the knowledge of the ultimate category ?' Suppose it is stated in that school thus : 'The final destruction of pain is produced by the knowledge of the ultimate category.' What then ? Even then it is impossible not to put the question, namely, 'where did the pain go ?' Suppose it is stated thus : 'The pain did not go anywhere but subsequent to the knowledge of the ultimate category, the pain becomes destroyed' then (the question asked is) 'How (then is it destroyed)' ? Suppose it is stated thus : It is because of the rule, namely, when the substratum of destruction is produced that (particular) moment of destruction does not subsist in the substratum of the counter-entity 'has not been accepted' this objection is true. We have accepted the rule, namely, 'The moment of the production of the knowledge of the ultimate categery does not subsist at a moment anterior to the production of the substratum of that which is perceivable. Because also the rule is that the right knowledge which is hostile to the ignorance that is similar to itself and also to that which is perceivable. And thus having accepted destruction as a distinct (category) it is desirable to assume its hostility with its counter-entity in one and the same time. Thus the destruction is produced. Therefore as regards destruction it is right to assume the hostility between the antecedent time and the subsequent time as in the case of the (various) causes that have been accepted by the *Naiyāyikas*. Because it will be complex to assume the many causes that produce the destruction of the type stated above.

The reason is this : If it were so, the instrumental case in the expression, namely, 'The pot is destroyed through the blow given to it by the stick and *mōkṣa* is attained through the knowledge of the ultimate category' will not become applicable because you (*advaitins*) have not accepted that the destruction of pot is produced by the blow given to it by the stick and *mōkṣa* that is of the form of the removal of *avidya* (or nescience) is produced by the knowledge of the ultimate category.

(*To be continued*)

PROCEEDINGS OF THE FORTY-FIFTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MYTHIC SOCIETY, BANGALORE.

Monday the 10th of October 1955 AT 5-30 P.M.

THE Forty-Fifth Annual Meeting of the Mythic Society was held on Monday the 10th of October 1955 at 5-30 P.M. at the Daly Memorial Hall.

Rājadharmaprasakta Sri T. Singaravelu Mudaliar, President of the Society, was in the Chair.

The following resolutions put from the Chair were unanimously adopted ;

"The Members of the Mythic Society assembled at the Forty-Fifth Annual General Body Meeting tender their hearty congratulations to Dr. Sir M. Visvesvaraya on his attaining the Ninety-fifth Birthday and on the conferment of the distinguished title of Bhārata Ratna by the President of the Indian Union on him for meritorious services rendered to the country."

"The Members of the Mythic Society assembled at the Forty-Fifth Annual General Body Meeting record their hearty congratulations to Mr. G. H. Krumbiegel, one of the founder-members of the Mythic Society who is present at the Meeting and who will shortly be completing his Ninetieth Year."

The Chairman, then called upon the General Secretary and Treasurer, Sri S. Srikantaya to read the Annual Report for the year ended 30th June 1955.

Sri S. Srikantaya read the following Annual Report and the audited statement of accounts.

ANNUAL REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1954-55

The Committee of the Mythic Society have great pleasure in presenting the report of the Society's working for the year ended 30th June 1955.

Lectures: The following lectures were delivered: 'The Impact of Indian Thought and Art on pre-Buddhist China' by Professor Alfred Salmony, 'The Modern Interpreters of the Bhagavad Gīta' by Sri M. Yamunacharya, 'The Greco-Roman Ethical Tradition and the Ethics of the Bhagavad Gīta' by Professor N.A.Nikam, 'The Yoga Synthesis of the Bhagavad Gīta' by Professor M. Ramakrishna Bhatt, 'The Arguments of the Bhagavad Gīta' by Rājasevaprasakta Sri Masti Venkatesa Iyengar, 'The Message of the Bhagavad Gīta' by Sri K. Guru Dutt, 'Naiskarmya Siddhi in the Bhagavad Gīta' by Sri M. Lakshminarasimhaiya, 'The Yoga Aspect of the Gīta' by Srimati Prabhavati Raje, 'The Life and Times of Mahatma Gandhi' by The Hon'ble S. V. Krishnamurthy Rao, 'Sikhism' by Sardar Kartar Singh and 'The Message of Jesus' by Sri P. Devasahayam. We are grateful to Sriyuts. The Hon'ble Dr. R. Nagan Gowda, The Hon'ble K. T. Bhasyam, Rājadharmaprasakta A. S. R. Chari, R. Balasubramanya Iyer, P. Kodanda Rao, Justice T. N. Mallappa, Justice B. Vasudeva Murthy and The Hon'ble A. G. Ramachandra Rao who responded to our invitation to participate in the proceedings and preside on the different occasions when these lectures were delivered.

Membership: The strength in our membership continues to be steady. There were on our rolls 308 members and subscribers as against 296 in the previous year. We trust it will be possible for us to augment our membership. We appeal to members to introduce new members to the Society and to assist us in continuing our work satisfactorily. Members who can afford are requested kindly to contribute to the Capital Fund by converting their ordinary membership into Life-Membership and also by making donations.

Finance: The total receipts of the Society including an opening balance of Rs. 26-5-0 were Rs. 8,055-1-3 as against Rs. 7,818-8-5

in the previous year. The total expenditure was Rs. 7,722-4-3 as against Rs. 7,469-6-6 in the previous year. A sum of Rs. 200 being the Life-Membership donations received has been added to the Reserve Fund which now stands at Rs. 15,000-0-0. The amount in the Staff Provident Fund showed a closing balance of Rs. 910-5-8 invested in the Mysore Government Savings Bank Account at the State Huzur Tressury, Bangalore.

The Government of Mysore have been pleased to renew the General Grant of Rs. 200 per month for the year 1955-56. A Library grant of Rs. 300 was made for the year 1954-55. The monthly maintenance Grant of Rs. 50 and the Annual Grant of Rs. 300 from the Civil Station which were stopped have not been restored yet and our attempts and representations for the restoration of these grants continue. We respectfully appeal to the Government of Mysore to augment our resources and enhance the present General Grant of Rs. 200 per month to at least Rs. 500 a month on a permanent basis so that we may be enabled to carry on cultural and historical research and other allied activities without constant and continued financial embarrassments. The rise in postal rates and the cost of even our meagre establishment tell very heavily on our slender resources.

We appeal to public philanthropy to lend support to our activities and endeavours. Funds are required for getting bound a large number of rare and valuable periodicals and books, to purchase a large number of rare and recent publications, to provide a suitable building for the ever-growing library and to bring the catalogue of the Library up-to-date.

Library: The Library of the Society possesses many rare and valuable books on subjects pertaining to the objects of the Society. Scholars from all parts of India and the world resort to the Society's library for study and research. Valuable periodicals and reports of Archæological and Epigraphical Departments are being acquired. We appeal to all persons interested in our work to present our library with books and periodicals dealing with antiquarian research. We are obliged to the Government of India,

the several Governments of the different States of India, *viz.* Mysore, Baroda, Madhya Bhārat and Travancore-Cochin; The Universities of Mysore, Calcutta, Annamalai, Allahabad and Travancore: and to various authors, editors and publishers for their kind patronage and for sending their publications for review in "The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society." A hundred and twenty books and bound periodicals were added to the library during the year as against 124 in the previous year. Out of these 120 books, 34 books of the value of Rs. 234-7-6 were purchased, 33 books of the value of Rs. 155-13-0 and 27 books whose prices have not been mentioned were received as presentations and review copies and 26 periodicals (volumes for the complete years) were bound and accessed to the Library. 391 books were consulted in the Library by 44 persons and 226 books were borrowed by 33 scholars and students in connection with their research work. A sum of Rs. 154-4-0 was spent in binding periodicals and old books.

Free Reading Room: The Free Reading Room continues to attract the visitors as usual. During the year under report 4,194 visitors made use of the Free Reading Room as against 3,729 in the previous year. Daily and weekly papers and monthly periodicals are placed on the Reading Room Table. Important periodicals are bound and made available to the visitors also who made use of them. The subscription to papers and periodicals paid during the year was Rs. 210-4-0 as against Rs. 202-8-6 in the previous year.

Journal: The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society maintains the high standard set for it by its promoters. The Journal is published regularly and punctually.

Exchanges: Amongst our exchanges are included most of the leading periodicals of the world dealing with subjects in which the society is interested. The nominal value of periodicals and publications received in exchange during the year amounted to Rs. 718-6-1 as against Rs. 769-0-4.

Daly Memorial Hall: The Daly Memorial Hall and the premises continue to be maintained in good condition. The Hall is in

constant demand and several departments of the Government of Mysore and public institutions held their proceedings in the Daly Memorial Hall. The Industrial Tribunal continues its sittings in the Daly Memorial Hall.

General: We heartily congratulate Bhārata Ratna Dr. Sir M. Visvesvaraya on the distinction bestowed on him by the President of the Republic of India.

The Society is making itself useful to the public by making available to them the services of the Society and its library for research in Indology.

We beg to express our deep debt of gratitude to our Patron, His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore, to the Government of Mysore, the various Governments of other States and to the Government of India for their continued patronage, sympathy and support.

* * * * * *

The Chairman then read a letter addressed to him by Sri B. R. Sreenivasa Rao and called for suggestions.

Regarding the suggestion to post the report and the statement of accounts in advance, in view of the practical difficulties and the extra expenditure involved and to avoid duplicating the printing of the report in the Journal and also separately, it was decided to continue the present practice for the time being.

On the proposal to have an Assistant Secretary to help the present General Secretary and Treasurer, Sri S. Srikantaya, the general view was that the present Curator was doing all the work which could be expected of an Assistant Secretary and Sri Srinivasa Rao after hearing the explanation of Dr. K. N. V. Sastri, of what obtained in similar institutions withdrew the suggestion.

As regards the third and final suggestion to revise the rules of the Society, Sri Srinivasa Rao was requested to suggest modifications and alterations to the present rules of the Society if any to enable the Committee to consider them and to put forward concrete proposals in that behalf, if necessary.

ADOPTION OF THE REPORT

The Chairman moved that the Annual Report and the audited statement of accounts be adopted. In doing so, he requested the General Body to record their appreciation of the good work which Sri S. Srikantaya was rendering to the Society all these years. Capt. Rao Bahadur A. Thangavelu Mudaliar seconded it. The report and the audited statement of accounts with the suggestion of the Chairman were put to vote and adopted.

ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

Rājasevaprasakta Sri R. N. Mirza proposed that Rājadharmaprasakta Sri T. Singaravelu Mudaliar be re-elected President for 1955-56. Seconded by Sri J. Rudrappa, Rājadharmaprasakta Sri T. Singaravelu Mudaliar was re-elected President unanimously.

ELECTION OF OFFICE-BEARERS

Proposed by Rājasevaprasakta Sri R. N. Mirza and seconded by Sri B.R.Sreenivasa Rao, the following office-bearers were elected for 1955-56.

Vice-President

Rājasabhābhsūshana Diwan Bahadur
Sri K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar, M.A.

General Secretary and Treasurer, and Editor

Sri S. Srikantaya, B.A., B.L.

Branch Secretaries

For History: Rev. Fr. C. A. Browne, M.A.
For Anthropology: Dr. S. S. Sarkar, D.Sc.

Committee, the above **ex-officio** *and Sriyuts*

Rājasēvāprasakta A.N.Raghavachar, M.A.
Capt. Rao Bahadur A. Thangavelu Mudaliar
Dr. K.N.V.Sastri, M.A., Ph.D., F.R.Hist.S.
V.T.Tirunarayana Iyengar, M.A.
B.V.Patankar, B.E., ASME., AMIE.

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CHAIRMAN'S SPEECH

The Chairman thanked the members for their kind co-operation in the working of the Society and agreed with the suggestion of Dr. K.N.V.Sastri that popular lectures should be arranged to make the Society more popular. He congratulated the General Secretary, Treasurer and Editor, Sri S. Srikantaya, who was keeping the Society alive. He complimented him on arranging for a series of excellent lectures and on the publication of the Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society up-to-date. He also appreciated the good work of the Curator, Sri R. Hari Rao. He appealed for co-operation in the publication of the Special Number of the Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society to be brought out in the next couple of months.

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Reverend Father C. A. Browne, in proposing a vote of thanks to the Chair, which was adopted, recounted the high family traditions of the Chairman, his impartial and well-balanced views as a Judge, his administrative ability as Vice-Chancellor of the Mysore University and the useful work which he has been rendering to humanity as Chairman and as member of several committees in the State.

With three cheers to the Patron of the Society, His Highness the Mahārāja of Mysore, the meeting came to a close.

REVIEWS

German

Der Rig-Veda. Aus dem Sanskrit ins Deutsche übersetzt und mit einem laufenden Kommentar versehen. Von Karl Friedrich Geldner. Harvard Oriental Series, Vols. 33, 34 and 35. Cambridge, Massachusetts, (U.S.A.). Harvard University Press, 1951.

ALL honour to the authorities of the Harvard University and to the scholar-founders (H. C. Warren and C.R. Lanman) and Editors (C. R. Lanman, W. E. Clark and Daniel H. H. Ingalls of the Harvard Oriental Series) who have laid Indologists under obligation by presenting to them this monumental, *complete* translation of the Ṛgveda—a translation which was completed by the author nearly thirty years ago but of which the major portion (Maṇḍalas: V to X) had remained unpublished so far. The aim of the Harvard Oriental Series, to make it possible for the East and West to know each other, could not have been better served than by this publication because the Ṛgveda is the Book of Books, the oldest monument not only of Indian Literature but also of "Indo-germanischen vergangenheit."

The publication of a complete translation of the Ṛgveda based (like the one before us) on the translator's original researches and *life long-studies* is almost an epoch-making event. A huge mass of exegetical material on the Ṛgveda had accumulated during the eighty years preceding Geldner's translation, thanks to the labours of Rosen, Burnouf, Roth, Grassman, Ludwig, Benfey, Max Müller, Pischel, Oldenberg, Neisser, Delbrück, Hillebrandt, Wackernagel, Bergaigne, Whitney, Lanman, Bloomfield, Macdonell and others and only a specialist of the painstaking diligence and research-stature of Geldner could have come out with a translation that has taken due note of earlier investigation and is yet individual and original. The difficulties that beset such an

undertaking may be stated here so that the achievement of Geldner may be seen in proper perspective.

The Ṛgveda is not one single work but a whole literature the composition of which was spread over widely separated periods of time and which was gathered into its present Saṁhitā—(Compilation)—form only at a later time. The almost unascertainable antiquity of the Ṛgveda—*the earliest Veda*—may be inferred from the fact that almost the whole of the Sāma-Veda adopts its verse-parts to music and that substantial parts of the Yajurveda and Atharva-Veda Saṁhitās quote its Mantras adapting them to their respective ritual and magic contexts, *without any strict adherence or regard to the original context in the Ṛgveda.* One wonders whether, so far as the Ṛgveda is concerned, the tradition of the original setting (geographical, meteorological, astronomical and even cultural) of the ideas, notions or conceptions behind (*at least*) *some of its hymns* (such as those addressed to the Dawn) was not lost even at the time of these later Saṁhitās and their Brāhmaṇas, though the linguistic (or external) form in which these reminiscent ideas are embodied in the Ṛgveda is not separated, by any yawning gap in the chain of *linguistic* evolution, from the linguistic form of these Saṁhitās and Brāhmaṇas. What, then, to speak of the post-Revelation period when Yāska confesses himself baffled by the obscurity surrounding the meaning of some Ṛgvedic words and the nature of some of its mythological figures! That is why we come across statements like these: " It is not entirely our fault that we yet do not rightly understand the Ṛgveda and that a complete translation of it must of necessity, contain much that is incorrect." [1]

From a practical point of view, the minimum expectation from a good translation of the Ṛgveda should be that it sets forth as accurately as possible the *vācya* (the literal, primary or expressed) sense, as determined by grammatical, linguistic, stylistic and contextual considerations. The possible *lakṣya* ('indicated') and *vyaṅgya* ('suggested') senses of certain words and passages,

1. Winternitz: *A History of Indian literature*, Vol. I. English Translation, p. 69, (University of Calcutta. 1927).

prompted by the particular theory held regarding the original environment or setting of the Ṛgveda, it would be difficult for any single translator to do full justice. To take but one example: All that we can be certain of regarding the word *rasā'bha* (occurring five times in the Ṛgveda I. 34.9 116.2; 162.21; III. 53.5; VIII. 85.7) is that it is a steed-like draught-animal (lit. 'an ass') associated with the As'vins. As to what it really stands for—a *rā'sabha*—like a starry figure in the heavens or something earthly—speculation promoted by the particular theory held regarding the original nature of the As'vins is inevitable. A further complication [2] is that the Ṛgvedic poets have a peculiar penchant for *word-mysteries*, a stylistic predilection which was to flower later into the *double entendre* of classical Sanskrit. To illustrate: The Ṛgvedic poet while describing the Sōma plant and its juice has all the time, at the back of his mind, a vision of the celestial Sōma and the Celestial sea and his words are often applicable, *without warning*, to either or both the conceptions of Sōma. The result is that a veteran Vedist like Hillebrandt for a long time held the view that Sōma *throughout the Ṛgveda* stood for the 'Moon'. When the Ṛgvedic poet magnifies Agni, one often wonders whether he is visualizing Agni as the terrestrial form of the Sun or fancying the Sun as the celestial form of Agni.

Macdonell [3] similarly is puzzled when *gā'vaḥ* (lit. 'cows') are sometimes identified with the 'waters' and sometimes with 'ruddy beams of Dawn.' If then the limited objective of determining the '*Vācya*' sense is kept in view, we need not despair.

As Bloomfield [4] says, "I believe that the Ṛgveda will be explained ultimately: every time a fish dies (*dhiyā-dhiyā* TS. 2, 6, 6, 1) some good point is made in the text, in interpretation, grammar or metre of the Veda." The reviewer has no hesitation in saying that this desideratum of the *Vācyārtha apart from any thing else*, has been supplied to a large extent by this translation of Geldner.

2. *See my paper* "*Cows in the Ṛgveda*" *QJMS. Vol. XLV*. pp.21-28.
3. *Vedic Mythology*: p. 59.
4. *Ṛgveda Repetitions*: Preface. p.xviii.

To indicate now the exact place of Geldner among the interpreters of the Ṛgveda: The first word-by-word explanation of the whole of the Ṛgveda in India came, in the fourteenth century, from Sāyaṇa the most learned scholiast of all times. The debt we owe to him is, however, obscured by the line taken up by Roth—the acknowledged master of Veda-interpretation in the Occident—who relied almost wholly on philological critisism, a historical treatment within the range of Sanskrit and the modern resourses of lingustic science, discarding almost altogether the explanations of Sāyaṇa. A fair appraisal of Sāyaṇa's contribution, however, was given later by Max Müller,[5] when he wrote (1869) "If now, we can walk without Sāyaṇa, we ought to bear in mind that five and twenty years age, we could not have made even our first steps without his leading strings." Subsequent investigators, follow a middle course; while they accept Roth's method, they fully exploit native tradition and Sāyaṇa's explanations. Geldner was a pupil of Roth and the "Siebenzig Lieder des Ṛgveda, übersetzt von Karl Geldner und Adolf Kaegi. Mit Beitragen von Roth" (1875) is a product of the Roth school. When, however, in collaboration with Pischel, he published the "*Vedische studien*" in three volumes (1889-1901), which combined deep study with a searching analysis, he made no secret of his firm conviction that post-Ṛgvedic Indian literature provided the best key to the right understanding of the Ṛgveda, *because it must be understood* as a product of the Indian mind.

His next contribution to Ṛgveda-exegesis was "Der Ṛgveda in Auswahl: I Glossar, II Kommentar" (1907-9) and ZDMG. 71 (1917) 317 ft. His studies in Avestan language and literature were at once helpful and complementary to his Ṛgvedic investigations. Thus was the stage set for the realization of his life's ambition, the completion of his Ṛgveda-translation and the publication of the first part thereof (Maṇḍalas: I to IV) as Band 12 of the series "Quellen der Religion-geschichte" (Gottingen, 1923).

Now for a rapid review of extant *complete* translations of the Ṛgveda; The earlist one was in French by M. Langlois (4 vols.

5. Preface to the first edition: p. xxx, *Vedic Hymns: SBE.* Vol. XXXII.

1848-51). It is ingenious but thoroughly uncritical as Max Müller[6] puts it. The next translation of the whole of the Ṛgveda was by H. H. Wilson (1850-66) who faithfully rendered into English the explanations of Sāyaṇa. Then came two complete German translations: one by Grassman, a pupil of Roth (1876-77) and another by Ludwig (1876-88). Grassman allowed his own arbitrary judgment regarding early and late portions to break up the continuity of the Saṁhitā text. The reproduction of the original, in metrical form, fraught with all its well-known attendant drawbacks has marred the accuracy of his rendering and it is strange yet true, that the "Wörterbuch zum Ṛgveda" (1872) of the great scholar has almost superseded his own translation, in point of reliability. As regards Ludwig's translation, to which a comprehensive and most valuable commentary is added, I agree with Winternitz that though difficult to understand, Ludwig's translation is yet more reliable than the smooth verses in Grassman's translation.[7] "The Hymns of the Ṛgveda translated with a popular commentary" (1889-90), by R.T.H. Griffith is the *second* complete translation *in English*. It makes no claim to originality, drawing judiciously, as it does, on the labours of its predecessors. Even so, it has proved extremely useful to post-graduate Sanskrit students of Indian Universities for the last sixty years.

I fully agree with Dr. Kosambi that Geldner's translation *is the best in existence in any language*.[8] In his running commentary, the reader has the comfort of having before him not only a compendium of all the really important earlier research-material that lay before Geldner but also the fruit of Geldner's own ripe judgment. He faces squarely the obscurities of the text and with an honesty equalled only by his modesty says in his Begleitwort: "Whatever strikes the reader as obscure in the translation was obscure to the translator also."[9] By elucidating the *vācya* sense as accurately as was possible for him, he has placed the tools of research into the hands of all future investigators and historians of

6. *SBE*. Vol. XXXII p. xxxiv.

7. A History of Indian Literature: *loc. cit.*

8. See Dr. Kosambi's scholarly review in the *JOR*. Kuppaswami Memorial Institute, Madras. 1952.

9. *H.O.S.* Vol. XXXIII, p.x.

ancient Indian and allied civilizations and cultures and of all such scholars as hold their own theories regarding the mysticism, allegory or metaphor behind the words of the Ṛgveda.

In the context of this appreciation, the following few (purely suggestive) critical comments cannot be misunderstood : (i) In his commentary on ṚV.I.1.1[a] Geldner states that *iḍ* a synonymous with *hve* and *implies* that it is *not* synonymous with *stu* (Sāyaṇa's meaning). He advances no etymological or semasiological considerations but only relies on an array of parallel passages, *which however do not shut out the meaning* 'to praise'! Oldenberg [10] and Neisser [11] who postulate different starting-points for the semantic evolution of the verb, accept the meanings: 'to pay homage to', 'to praise', as perfectly natural later stages in this evolution. When an invocation or a call is addressed to a deity, *it is inseparable from the praise.* The *praise* and the call or invocation merge into (and follow) each other promiscuously in the Mantra or prayer and to imply that it could, at no stage of its semantic evolution in the Ṛgveda, mean 'to praise' is to be over-subtle. (ii) He postulates a *little too often*, the hypotheses of ellipsis, parenthesis, syncope and word-haplology, to clear up obscure passages and words. (iii) His different *paraphrastic* renderings of certain basic and frequently occurring words like *ṛta* are rather puzzling and do not give a faithful picture of the conceptual unity underlying them. *Ṛta* (*to take but one example*) has attained almost to divine honours in the Ṛgveda and should have been left as it is in the translation, an explanatory note being inserted (once for all) in the commentary at its first occurrence. (iv) Finally a later translator who holds different views regarding the original nature of certain deities is bound to differ from Geldner in his rendering of such passages as pertain to those deities; but this cannot be held against Geldner's translation (it must be admitted).

The get-up of the work, and its printing are all in the glorious traditions of the Harvard Oriental Series. Altogether, 'a thing of beauty' and a joy (and enlightenment) for ever to students of the Ṛgveda.

DR. V. M. APTE.

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10. *S.B.E.* Vol. XLVI p. 2-4.
11. *Zum Worterbuch des Ṛgveda*: pp. 167-9.

KANNADA

Kelavu Nenapugalu. (ಕೆಲವು ನೆನಪುಗಳು) By Rājasevāprasakta Navaratna Rama Rao. First Edition. Published by Jeevana Kāryālaya, Gavipuram, Bangalore-4. Price Rs. 5-8-0.

I compliment Masti Venkatesa Iyengar for persuading Navaratna Rama Rao to write a narrative of his experiences as Amildar (Tashildar) of Yedatore (Krishnarajanagara) and Tirumakudlu Narasipura Taluks in the Mysore District as a serial (now in book form) in the 'Jeevana,' a popular, well-conducted, literary, monthly magazine in Kannada. I congratulate the author for this engrossing and sustaining account of the incidents in his life as an Amildar. I trust he will give a version of it in English for the benefit of a wider public. Tirumale Tatacharya Sharma has added the Appendix—an appreciation and a masterly and exhaustive summary.

I was a boy when I first saw Rama Rao in February 1904 at Bangalore, just about the time he, along with his friends—a brilliant band of young Mysoreans—, was appointed a probationer in the Mysore Service, with buoyant hopes of prospects and promotions in due course, *vis major* excepted, as subsequent events were to prove. Close association and friendship has tended to increase mutual affection and I have come to look upon him and regard him as an elder brother. This and our family friendships apart, I feel myself unequal and inadequate to undertake an account in English; besides, such an attempt would take too long.

Not actually an autobiography nor a mere chronicle of incidents, the book is an interesting narrative of common place events, tense situations, visits arranged and looked for but postponed, troublesome dilemmas, strange happenings, hopes deferred, expectations unrealised, in the life of Amildar Rama Rao. You may have heard and you may have been familiar with most of the scenes described but when you read the account in the pages of the book under review, you feel like actually witnessing say, a *dasara* procession in a movie and not that you are reading an exhaustive account of it in print. It is full of life, flesh and blood, a three

dimensional picture, an exceedingly human document, full of vim, verve and vigour, instructive, informative and interesting, even arresting. To the Amildar of today it is a romance, also a guide, a hand-book, an object-lesson in dealing with administrative problems in the country side. To the general reader it is an excellent romantic story, based on fact and personal experience, of an energetic and ambitious, youthful officer who covered himself with glory by *noblesse oblige*. Rama Rao never lacked courage or strength of mind. He was ever loyal and faithfully devoted to his master. The path of duty was the way to glory. He handled the situations which arose in his charge with tact, firmness and forbearance, sympathy and generosity, as occasions demanded. Vacillation and faint-heartedness formed no part of his equipment or armoury, whether before a superior officer or a turbulent and powerful local element which attempted to create and foment trouble in the taluk. He brooked no nonsense from his Deputy Commissioner Sparkes. He 'blew his own trumpet' — very properly, I should think—before the none too favourably inclined Dewan V. P. Madhava Rao, in putting forward his claims for appointment as an Assistant Commissioner. Both Sessions Judge T. Paramasiva Iyer and General Secretary K. S. Chandrasekhara Àiyar found in Rama Rao a man after their own heart, courageous impetuous and upright.

The style of the narrative is in keeping with changing situations. It is simple, direct, homely and conversational; forceful and telling; rising to dizzy heights of sonorous eloquence, perfervid periods and powerful rhetorical display, indicating the combative spirit of the Amildar,—an intelligent, self-sufficient and self-confident, young man anxious to maintain the prestige and dignity of his office and the sacredness of the person of the representative of the Mahāraja in the Taluk. So, many a time, Rama Rao may have felt that courage was the better part of discretion, to be quick in decision in moments of danger and may not have had often to regret it. It was easy to make friends of Rama Rao but his opponents had to beware of him, as abundantly illustrated in the book. Yet, he was no mean opponent or officer but a valiant fighter in the open.

The characterisation of persons, big and small, with whom he came into contact is colourful and very real. The several incidents in both the Taluks in which he took part as the head of police or as an Amildar are vivid and are remarkable in succinctness and narration. The description of natural scenery and of very many interesting places, in which the two taluks abound, is marvellous and the reader is amazed at the vast amount of erudition of the author. No wonder. Rama Rao knows quite well Marāṭhi, Tamil, Telugu, Urdu and French. He is very widely and deeply read in English, Sanskrit and Kannada. To mention a few, Kāḷidāsa and Bhavabhūti, Shakespeare, Milton, Wordsworth and Tennyson, the Vedas, the Upaniṣads and the Bhagavad Gīta, the Epics, the Purāṇas and European classical literature as well as the sagas of the world have served him in recounting these experiences. Part of this culture is inherited, as Kaka Kalelkar would put it and for the rest Rama Rao must have assiduously cultivated the art under initiation from a proper guru and by trained discipleship.

Navaratna Rama Rao belonged to a highly cultured and respected Madhva family which provided gurus to the Uttarādi Mutt. Both his father and maternal uncle who was also his father-in-law were well placed government servants. Early in life, Rama Rao came under the influence of John Guthrie Tait, a famous Professor of English in the Central College, Bangalore, a man of strong likes and dislikes, a magnificent teacher and a most commanding personality. There is no page in this interesting narrative which does not acknowledge this twin debt to his parents and to his guru. Rama Rao's reverential tribute to his guru furnishes a remarkable testimony to the affection, regard and esteem in which Principal Tait was rightly held by his students and by all who came into contact with him. It was also in the Central College there grew that close and intimate friendship and affection between Rama Rao and Rajaji which has grown with time and which no death will divide.

Trust in God, reverence to the guru, loyalty and devotion to the Mahārāja, performance of duty to satisfaction, obedience

to parents, affectionate domestic relationships, steadfastness in friendship, employment of spare time and leisure hours in healthful exercises and study of classical literature and philosophical works and in the cultivation of the fine arts have yielded a rich harvest to Rama Rao. He is a believer in God and has implicit faith in him. Man is no sinner. Devotion, faith and love bring salvation to him. In Yedatore and T. Narasipura, Rama Rao had ample opportunities of service to the cause of Hinduism.

There was a week's marriage and festivity in a Gowda's house at Mirle. As a compensation, Rama Rao long afterwards, in a *digar* taluk, sat *dharana* at Vaidyanatha Iyer's house in Nanjangud for a frugal meal consisting of some gruel, foregoing a rich repast at Dharma Rao's. Many of the incidents referred to in the narrative recall to our minds similar ones in the lives of other officers in the period. The honour deservedly shown to the Sōsale Svāmigaḷavaru in preference to a clerk of the Parakāḷa Mutt at the car festival of Gunja Narasimhasvāmi finds a reverberating echo in the recent disputes about precedence in the Melkote temple.

Basavarajiah being bodily removed and locked up in the temple and Rama Rao and the police inspector moving about and lying in wait to apprehend an absconder from justice are like the excursion for duck shooting by three police officers and their entourage to surround a large criminal gang of torch-light dacoits at Alampura in the Kadur District. Rama Rao's swimming in the river, thinking of Eureka on people turning up to clean their vessels, is a good reminder of Easy Jr who was searching for his pants when urgently summoned to duty and was preparing to go, being called to order at once for work, 'for duty before decency.'

The beginning of the narrative furnishes a background to unfulfilled ambition, frustration, discontent and despair of talented young men of Mysore. Dewan Krishna Murthi endeavoured to remove some of the causes of this discontent but it was aggravated in the subsequent regime. This inferiority complex completely disappeared with the advent of Sir (now Bhārata Ratna) M. Visvesvaraya as Dewan. It is now ancient history. As Lord

Hardinge observed elesewhere it is the duty and statesman like policy of the administrators to recruit, train and employ local talent in the higher services of the State. Men recruited from outside during the period under consideration, forming the cream of the intelligentia, have settled down in the State as honoured and respected citizens. The difficulty today lies in selection by nomination without competition or any sufficient reference to merit which may affect the quality of recruitment and the tone of the administration.

In the course of a long official career, Rama Rao has utilised his talents, training and opportunities to the best advantage and is with us honoured and respected. He is not a recluse; he is a social human being and he wants society. A good householder, a great sportsman, a splendid athlete, a boxer prepared to give and to take, a fine conversationalist and an excellent debater with pep and repartee, well versed in music and the fine arts, ever fond of reading, Rama Rao is devoted to the goddess of learning, a tremendous asset in ripe old age.

These reminiscences enable the reader to make a proper estimate of the human element in man, his strength and weaknesses, his vanities and frivolities, his excesses and his shortcomings, the effect of his surrroundings on him, his trials and tribulations, party strife in villages, causes of quarrels in rural tracts, difficulties in investigation of crimes and so on and so forth.

Pride of birth, pride of being a disciple of a known guru, pride of intellect and pride in duty done are well merited mementoes of a worthily lived life, rich in experience and knowledge and we exhort our readers to go over this delightful autobiography of a distinguished public servant with pleasure and profit.

S. SRIKANTAYA

ADDITIONS TO LIBRARY

(From 29-6-1955 to 27-10-1955)

Books, Pamphlets and Reports.

Art of Indian Asia; The—, Its Mythology and Transformations. By Heinrich Zimmer. Completed and Edited by Joseph Campbell. 2 Volumes. Bolligen Series Vol. XXXIX. Pantheon Books.
(From: *Bolligen Series, New York. Presented.*)

Aspects of Jainism—(Collection of Articles on Jainism.)
(From: *The Jain Mission Society, Bangalore-2 Presented.*)

China's New Literature and Art. By Chou Yang.
(From: *The Embassy of the People's Republic of China, New Delhi. Presented.*)

Descriptive Catalogue of Documentary Films, including all films produced and released upto March 31, 1955.
(From: *The Publications Division, Government of India, New Delhi. Presented.*)

Fear in its Dual Aspect. By Irene Bastow Hudson.
(From: *The Indian Institute of Culture, Bangalore-4. In Exchange.*)

Folk-Art of New China (A Collection of Articles from *People's China.*)
(From: *The Embassy of the People's Republic of China, New Delhi. Presented.*)

Jaina Bibliography. By Chhote Lal Jain.

Jaina Monuments of India. By T. N. Ramachandran.

Jain Hill—(S'amanar Malai)—In Tamil. By T. S. Sripal.
(From: *Chhote Lal Jain, Calcutta. Presented.*)

Jainism—The Oldest Living Religion. By Jyoti Prasad Jain, M.A., LL.B.
(From : *The Jain Mission Society, Bangalore-2. Presented.*)

Khaṇḍagiri-Udayagiri Caves. By T. N. Ramachandran and Chhote Lal Jain.
(From : *Chhote Lal Jain, Calcutta. Presented.*)

Khilajī Kālīna Bhārat. 1290-1320. In Hindi. (History of the Khaljīs.) Translated by S. Athar Abbas Rizvi. M.A., Ph.D.
(From : *The Director of National Archives, New Delhi. Presented.*)

Les Vies Antérieures Du Bouddha. In French. Contes préséntes par Alfred Foucher, et illustrés par Jeannine Auboyer.
(From : *Du Musée Guimet, Paris. In Exchange.*)

Mahābhārata : The—, Critical Edition, Droṇaparvan, Part 2. Facicule 28. Edited by S. K. De.
(From : *The Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. For Review in QJMS.*)

Nayas—Ways of Approach and observation. By Nathmal Tatia. M.A., D.Litt. (Cal.)
(From : *The Jain Mission Society, Bangalore-2. Presented.*)

New Pictographic Autobiography of Sitting Bull ; A—, By Alexis A. Praus. Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections. Volume 123, Number 6. Publication 4180.
(From : *The Smithsonian Institution, Washington. In Exchange.*)

Outlines of Jaina Philosophy. By Mohan Lal Mehta.
(From : *The Jain Mission Society, Bangalore-2. Presented.*)

Proverbs of S'rī Svāmi S'ivānanda.
(From : *S'vāmi S'ivānanda. Rishikesh. For Review in QJMS.*)

Ranjit Singh. By Dr. N. K. Sinha.
(*Purchased*)

Report of the Fact Finding Committee (States Reorganisation), Bangalore.
(*Purchased.*)

Science and the Future of Civilization. By Major General S. L. Bhatia, M.M.D, (Cantab.), I. M. S. (Retd.).
(From : *The Indian Institute of Culture, Bangalore-4. In Exchange*)

S'ivānanda. Day-to-day. Volume VI.
By Sri Swami Gurusarananandaji
From: *S'vāmi S'ivānanda, Rishikesh.*
(*For Review in QJMS*)

S'rī S'aṁkara Guruleelārṇava. In Kannada.
By Lakshminarasimha.
(*Purchased*)

Towering Saint of the Himālayas; The—, By S'ri Swāmi S'ivānanda-Margarita.
(From : *S'vāmi S'ivānanda, Rishikesh. For Review in QJMS*)

Tuḷasidās Rāmāyaṇa. In Kannada with Hindi Original. Bālakānda. Translated by D. K. Bharadwaja.
(*Purchased*)

Vidura-Nīti. A Sanskrit-English Edition. From S'rī Mahābhārata. Edited by P. N. Menon, B.A., B.L.
(*Purchased*)

What Congress and Gandhi have done to the Untouchables. By B. R. Ambedkar.
(*Purchased.*)

Statement of Receipts and Expenditure of the Mythic Society for the year ending 30th June 1955

Particulars of Receipts	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Government of Mysore Grants:		
General Grant	2,400 0 0	
Library Grant	300 0 0	2,700 0 0
Subscriptions:		
Ordinary Members	639 3 4	
Life Membership Donation	100 0 0	739 3 4
Interest and Dividend	598 4 0	
Sale of Journals and Publications	838 4 3	
Advertisement	120 0 0	
Rent and Hall Charges	2,449 0 0	
Miscellaneous	134 15 5	4,140 7 8
Provident Fund Subscription by Staff	161 11 6	
Postage recovered	145 11 9	
Light Charges recovered	101 0 0	
Bank Charges recovered	1 14 0	
Cost of extra reprints recovered	38 12 0	449 1 3
		8,028 12 3
Balance on 1st July 1954		26 5 0
		8,055 1 3
Overdraft at the Bank of Mysore, Ltd. on 30th June 1955		1,609 2 4
Total Rs.		9,664 3 7

Particulars of Expenditure	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Establishment:		
Pay to Staff	1,968 0 0	
Light Charges	193 14 0	
Water Charges	28 4 0	
Provident Fund Subscription by Staff as per contra....	161 11 6	
,, ,, Contribution by Society	77 4 0	
Honorarium to Auditor	50 0 0	
Premises Repairs	172 0 0	
Garden	29 14 0	
Furniture Repairs	259 1 6	
Cycle Repairs	0 11 0	
Livery to Servants	86 4 6	
Electric Accessories	4 4 0	3,031 4 6
Journal:		
Paper and Printing	1,956 3 6	
Postage	813 7 0	
Conveyance Charges	34 6 0	2,804 0 6
Library:		
Books Purchased	234 7 6	
Book Binding	154 4 0	
Subscriptions to Newspapers and Periodicals	210 4 0	
Miscellaneous including Chemicals for Preservation of Books	433 12 0	1,032 11 6
Investments	200 0 0	
Expenses on Lectures	320 8 6	
Stationery	232 15 3	
Bank Charges including interest on Overdraft	100 12 0	854 3 9
		7,722 4 3
Overdraft at the Bank of Mysore, Ltd. on 30th June 1954		1,929 11 7
		9,651 15 10
Cash on hand on 30th June 1955		12 3 9
Total Rs.		9,664 3 7

Reserve Fund (*at face value*)

	Rs. a. p.
Government of Mysore 4% Stock 1953-63 ...	9,800 0 0
Government of Mysore 5% Stock ...	1,500 0 0
Debentures of the Mysore Central Co-operative Land Mortgage Bank, Ltd. ...	1,800 0 0
National Savings Certificates due on 26-3-1958 ...	700 0 0
Fixed Deposit in the Bank of Mysore, Ltd. ...	300 0 0
Fixed Deposit in the State Huzur Treasury ...	600 0 0
Three Shares in the Bank of Mysore, Ltd. ...	300 0 0
Total Rs.	15,000 0 0

(Camp) Saklaspur

7th October 1955

Certified Correct

T. M. S. Subramaniam
Chartered Accountant

S. Srikantaya
General Secretary & Treasurer

The Mythic Society

(Founded in 1909)

(Registered Under Act III of 1904)

The Society promotes the study of Archæology, Anthropology, Art, Architecture, Ethnology, Folk-lore, History, Mythology, Philosophy, Religion and other allied subjects more particularly in Mysore and Southern India and stimulates research in the above subjects.

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